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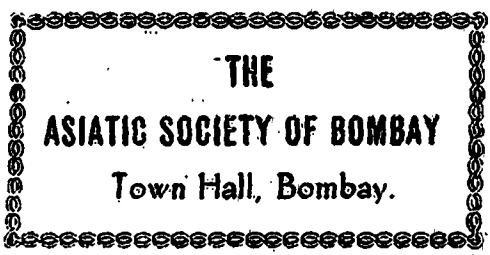

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REMINISCENCES

OF

CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.

OF LINCOLN'S-INN:

WITH

1. AN ESSAY ON THE MYSTICAL DEVOTIONS OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS:
2. A CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LATE DR. PARR AND MR. BUTLER:
3. AND,—CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT PROCEEDINGS FOR THE REFORM ON THE ENGLISH COURTS OF EQUITY:—ON A CHARGE BROUGHT AGAINST CONVEYANCERS, SOLICITORS, AND ATTORNIES:—AND ON MR. HUMPHREYS'S "OBSERVATIONS ON "THE ACTUAL STATE OF REAL PROPERTY IN "ENGLAND."

Accipe, sed facilis!

Buchanan, ad Mariam Scotorum Reginam.

VOL. II.

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ERRATA:

Page 22, in the fifth line from the bottom, for *antique*, read *antiqua*.
92, in the fourth line from the bottom, for *jacobinism*, read *jacobitism*.
95, in the sixth line from the top, after the word *assemble*, read the words *for effective deliberation*.
111, in the sixth line rom the bottom, for 1775, read 1766.
113, in the sixth line from the bottom, for *porsent*, read *portent*.
231, in the second line from the bottom, for *Boyle*, read *Bayle*.
242, in the last line, for *auront*, read *aura*.
255, in the fourth line from the top, for *Apeninus*, read *Aperimus*.

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I.

THE REMINISCENCES.

IT was the intention of the writer, that his former volume of Reminiscences should close his literary career.

Such a work is a kind of compte-rendu by the author to the public:—a settlement of accounts between them: an indication of an intention to abstain from further publications; an admission that, he has received a hint similar to that, given by Gil Blas to the archbishop of Grenada;—the rejection of which has consigned the prelate to everlasting fame.

For not acquiescing in these conclusions, the writer finds some excuse in the favourable reception of that volume, and the numerous intimations which he has received from the grave, the gay, the austere and the indulgent, that a second would be acceptable. He sits down therefore to prepare it.

II.

Auto-biographers.

1. *The Chancellor d'Aguésseau.*—2. *Cardinal de Retz.*—3. *Mr. Gibbon.*—4. *Huet.*—5. *Madame de Staal.*—6. *Cardan.*

II. 1.

The Chancellor d'Aguésseau.

If the Reminiscent had filled high situations in the law, and been admitted to councils of state, his recollections might have been important; and, in committing them to paper, his duty would have been to endeavour that they should have expressed something of the wisdom, the modesty and the virtuous sentiments, with which the Chancellor d'Aguésseau composed his Memoirs of his excellent father, and himself.

They fill the 13th volume of the Chancellor's works: it is the most interesting in the collection.

The Memoir, which is dedicated to his father's memory, places him in a very amiable and respectable light.

The most important part of the Memoir of himself, relates to the disputes upon Jansenism and Quietism, which agitated the reign of Lewis xiv. The general style of d'Aguésseau

is that of senatorial gravity; but, when he mentions these theological quarrels, a lurking smile on his countenance frequently betrays itself.

He thus describes the celebrated Fénélon:—
" He was one of those rare men, who are
" destined to form an epocha in their age, and
" who do equal honor to humanity by their vir-
" tue, and to literature by their eminent talents.
" Easy and brilliant, his peculiar character was
" an imagination always fertile and graceful,
" and which subdued every one, without making
" any sensible of its superiority. His eloquence
" was rather insinuating than vehement; he
" reigned as much by the charm of his manners,
" as by the ascendancy of his genius. Placing
" himself on a level with every intellect, he
" never disputed; and, while he carried off all
" with whom he conversed, they always thought
" he yielded to them. The graces flowed from
" his lips. He seemed, while discoursing on
" the gravest subjects, to play with them. The
" merest trifles became noble under his pen;
" he would have made roses bud in the midst
" of thorns. A dignified singularity was spread
" over his person; an indescribable sublimity
" in the simplicity of his manners, gave his

" character, the appearance of a prophet*; a " new but unaffected turn of expression made " many think that his knowledge had come to " him by inspiration. Always original, always " creative, imitating no one, he himself always " appeared inimitable. His talents, long buried " in the obscurity of seminaries, even while he " was employed on missions for the conversion " of the Protestants, were placed in full view " by the choice, which the king made of him " to be the preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy, " his grandson. So vast a theatre was not too " large for so great an actor; and, if his taste " for mysticism had not betrayed the secret of " his heart, and the weak side of his under- " standing, there was not a place, which the " public would not have assigned him, or which " would not have been thought inferior to his " merit."

D'Aguésseau proceeds to mention the interesting conflict between Bossuet and Fénélon:— " Then," to use his own words, " were seen to

* The singular beauty of Fénélon's countenance is noticed by the Duc de St. Simon, and all the prelate's biographers. In 1772, the then Dowager Lady Jerningham, mentioned to the Reminiscent, that, " when a child she had seen Fenelon, " and had never forgotten the charm and dignity of his ap- " pearance; that she had seen nothing which resembled it."

" enter the lists, two combatants, rather equal
" than alike. One, of consummate skill; co-
" vered with the laurels which he had gained
" in his combats for the church; an indefati-
" gable warrior. His age and repeated victories
" might have dispensed him from further ser-
" vice, but his mind, still vigorous and superior
" to the weight of his years, preserved, in his
" old age, a great portion of its early fire. The
" other, in the full strength of youth, not yet
" much known by his writings, but enjoying
" the highest reputation for his eloquence, and
" the loftiness of his genius, had been long
" exercised in the subject of the discussion. A
" perfect master of it's language, nothing in
" it was above his comprehension; nothing,
" which he could not explain; nothing which,
" when he explained it, did not appear plausi-
" ble. Before they became rivals, they had
" long been friends; both were estimable for
" the purity of their morals; amiable for the
" softness of their manners; ornaments of the
" church, of the court, and of human nature;
" one was respected, as the sun setting in full
" majesty; the other, as the sun that promised
" to fill the universe with his glory, if he could
" but disengage himself from a kind of eclipse,
" in which he was unhappily involved."

The comparative merits of Bossuet and Fénélon are even yet a subject of warm controversy in France. Cardinal de Baussét has published the lives of both. In his life of Fénélon, he has inserted some of his manuscript papers, which contain the heads of a plan for remedying the abuses of the French government. Fénélon evidently saw, that the time had come, when public opinion called loudly for an intermediate body, between the monarch and the people, to attach them more to each other, and to give the nation a more general interest in the welfare of their country. With this view, Fénélon suggested an assembly of Notâbles. For this suggestion, the Cardinal thinks Fénélon requires excuse; and accordingly makes for him an elaborate apology. On the same ground, Fénélon is attacked by the author of the *Histoire de l'Eglise pendant le dix-huitiéme siécle.* An edition of Fénélon's *Telemachus*, with an omission of the parts thought to have too democratic or too gay a tendency, has been recently published at Paris.

The Petit Carême of *Massillon* was always thought too favourable to the rights of the people. A remark which has been made on his panegyric of Lewis XIV. will, we think, make our readers smile. When the funeral service for Lewis XIV. was performed, the church was

hung in black, a magnificent mausoléum was raised over the bier, the edifice was filled with trophies and other memorials of the monarch's past glories; day-light was excluded, but innumerable tapers supplied it's place, and the ceremony was attended by the most illustrious personages of the realm. Massillon ascended the pulpit, contemplated in silence, during some time, the scene in view, then raised his arms to heaven, looked down, and slowly said in a solemn and subdued tone, "*Mes freres! Dieu seul est grand.*" God only is great!—With one impulse, all the auditory rose from their seats, and reverently bowed to the altar.—On these words of Massillon, a French critic, with an exuberance of loyalty, thus indignantly observes, —"*Comme si les Bourbons n'etaient pas grands!*" As if the Bourbons too were not great!

A gentleman of distinction at the French bar has informed the Reminiscent, that the Chancellor d'Aguésseau had always, in his house, a lawyer of profound erudition and great experience in business, to whom, for the services we shall mention, he gave a large salary. The Chancellor discussed every matter of importance with him: he made minutes of the result, and when an *Ordonnançe* was to be issued, he drew minutes of it. Every morning, he laid before

the Chancellor, the heads of the business of the day.

One cause of complaint of the Chancellor was, that he spent too much time in the society of men of letters.—" A preliminary inquiry," said the Chancellor, " is, whether I spend too much " time in relaxation? With this, no one, I think, " will charge me.—Then, how can I relax my- " self better, than in the society of men, whose " taste and learning all the nation admires? " They both instruct and delight me."

The elegant studies of *Lord Hale*, than whom English jurisprudence boasts no brighter ornament, are universally known. *Lord Stowell*'s profound knowledge of the jurisprudence of his court, is universally admitted: Would it have been so useful or so honourable to his country, if he had possessed less general learning? Have not the wonderful stores and energies of Mr. *Brougham*'s capacious mind, far from being a weight on his professional exertions, both aided and adorned them?

II. 2.

The Cardinal de Retz.

If the Reminiscent had lived amid the storms of party, and conflicted with the leading spirits of his country, he should have wished, to describe the part he took in these scenes,—for the pen of Cardinal de Retz:—

" A man," says Bossuet*, " so faithful to " individuals, so terrible to the state; of so " lofty a character, that it was impossible to " esteem, to fear, to love or to hate him in mo- " deration. Firm in himself, he shook the " universe, and obtained a dignity, which he " afterwards wished to resign, as unworthy " of what it had cost him; as an object beneath " his mighty mind. In the end, he was sensi- " ble of his errors, and of the vanity of human " greatness. But, while he was in search of " what he was afterwards taught to despise, he " shook every thing by his secret and powerful " energies. Even in the universal overthrow " of all around him, he appeared to suffice for " his own support, and his disappointed and " intrepid aspect still breathed defiance to his " successful adversary †. "

---

* Funeral Oration on Henrietta Maria of England.

† Few works abound in passages of sublimity more than the writings of Bossuet: as the following is perhaps unknown to the readers of these pages, the Reminiscent begs leave to present it to them:—

Nothing occurs more frequently in spiritual writers than exhortations to sinners to repair to Mount Calvary; but none perhaps have been more forcibly, more sublimely, or more beautifully expressed, than the following passage of Bossuet:

" O sinner! who readest these lines, contemplate your- " self, while your Judge contemplates you. Behold in your

That this is a true portrait of the Cardinal, his *Memoirs* clearly shew. No one ever enter-

---

" soul, what, at this very moment, he beholds in her, the " number and grievousness of your sins; dwell on them; " God sees them all. He sees your thoughts; consider " what His thoughts are, what His designs may be when " He sees you. At least, consider what is near you while " you read these lines. The divine justice encompasses you, " observes you, and writes down your life. His mercy " retires from you:—but both his mercy and justice speak " internally to you; they entreat you to consider what you " may be to-morrow, what you may be this very night, and " even what you may be in this very hour. You may be " dead and judged, and condemned to everlasting flames, in " a few minutes. In the next instant, all this may happen " to you. O Christian soul! it is not I, it is not the voice " of man; it is something much more powerful, much more " worthy of your attention, that now addresses you. How " numerous have been your sins, from the first day on which " you began to sin! But from that time how great has been " the goodness of God to you! What day has passed in " which this compassionate Father of all prodigal children " has not sought you, has not stretched forth his hand to you? " Wherever you turn, you can see in yourself nothing but " enormous sin and frightful ingratitude. What mercy do " you not need? Go then to Calvary: there, it is true, you " will be accused of having spilt your Saviour's blood! " They will shew you, on the redeeming rood, him whom " you have crucified! But be not terrified; acknowledge " your sin; be sorry for it; say to him whom you behold " on the cross, O suffering, O dying God! the evil you " behold in me is not a passing evil! a trifling evil! It is " the death of my soul; her death for time and eternity. " Have pity upon me! Say this with a contrite and humble " heart, and you will see that mercy herself will issue from

tained a stronger wish for immortality; no one obtained it by means, of which he himself was less conscious. His *Memoirs* are in the hands of every one:—the admiration of his style, of the point and depth of his reflections, of his vivid and exact portraits, of the elevation of his mind, and of the clearness and impetuosity of his narratives,—is universal. To these,— not to his deeds,—he owes his immortality: he composed them for his amusement, without any view to the posthumous fame, which he acquired by them.

Patris dictum sapiens temeritas filii comprobavit,—is a sentence produced by Cicero, to shew the great effect of a skilful arrangement of words. On one occasion, Cardinal de Retz shewed, in a very extraordinary manner, the happy effect of such an arrangment. A debate took place in the parliament of Paris, upon a point which the Cardinal was very desirous of having instantly decided: to prolong the debate, and, if possible, to procure an adjournment of it, was the object of his adversaries;

" the wounded side of your Redeemer, and truth and justice " will meet in you, and seal your pardon."

[1] The sublime pathos of this passage has not often been surpassed. In the writings of Bossuet, passages of equal greatness perpetually occur.

with this view, they introduced a personal charge against him. To justify himself was not easy; it evidently would have required a long and unpleasant debate, and thus would, even although he succeeded, have occasioned the delay, which he dreaded. In these straights, the genius of the Cardinal, did not desert him. As one, confident of success, he rose from his seat,—and thus addressed the auditory:—"In the present "state of affairs, I neither can nor ought to "answer this calumny in any other manner, "than by rendering the same testimony to "myself, which, in similar circumstances, the "Roman orator rendered to himself, in these "words:—'*In difficilimis reipublicæ temporibus, "urbem nunquam deserui; in prosperis, nihil de "publico delibavi; in desperatis, nihil timui.*' "'In the most difficult times of the republic, "I never deserted the state; in her most pros-"perous fortune, I never tasted of her sweets; "in her most desperate circumstances, I knew "not fear.'" It is the Cardinal's own observation, that this sentence has in the original a charm, which no translation can impart. It produced such an effect on the assembly, as permitted him, with their full acquiescence to step over the accusation, and to fix the attention of his hearers, on the point, to which he wished it

confined. He succeeded beyond his hopes: he appeared another Scipio, leading the admiring multitude from the tribunes, to the capitol. The quotation was in the mouth of every one:—but in what part of Cicero's works was it to be found?—It was in vain to search for it: the Cardinal himself had invented it, on the moment.

The dissimilitude between the nature of the civil wars of the French, and the nature of the war between Charles I. and his Parliament, is remarkable. The former scarcely had a definite object, unless the expulsion of *Mazarin* deserved that name; and this was only temporary. The object of the English war was the settlement of the constitution on the basis of rational liberty, one of the noblest purposes in which a nation can exert herself. The mixture of gallantry in all the operations of the warriors of the *Fronde*, gave them an air of gaiety and gallantry. The civil war of England was always grave and austere; embued, on one side, with romantic loyalty, on the other, with stern fanaticism; an equal dissimilitude is discernible in the characters of the two writers, to whom we are indebted for the best accounts, which have reached us of these wars. Impetuous, but observing; disdaining the labour of composition but possessing all its powers, the cardinal seizes

on the imaginations of his readers, and hurries them into all the varieties of the actions which he describes; introduces every leader to them, he himself all the time engrossing their principal attention: no crime excites his indignation; he pretends to no virtue but freedom from hypocrisy. Lord Clarendon is always dignified; his gait always solemn, his step always measured; he places his readers on an eminence, which gives them a distinct view of the scene; all his pages breathe loyalty and every virtue which loyalty inspires. Each writer was admirably calculated to describe the scenes, which he chose for the employment of his pen. *Perhaps*, however, the Cardinal would have shone more, as a writer, if his subject had been of sterner stuff, of deeper interest.

The debates in parliament, to which the *Fronde* gave rise, may be considered as the æra, from which true eloquence takes its date in France. How interesting is the description which is given by the Cardinal, of the fine apostrophe of the attorney general! Terrified by the discord before his eyes, and by the view of the long years of national misery, with which it was likely to be followed, the venerable man fell upon his knees, and prayed to St. Lewis to inspire his children with brotherly love, and to

banish contention from their hearts. We are almost angry with the Cardinal for the reflection, with which he concludes his narrative of the circumstance: " All this," he tells the lady, to whom he addresses his Memoir, " will now " appear to you ridiculous: when it took place, " it seemed to us sublime."

This attorney general's apostrophe, will probably remind some of our readers of what took place in the debates in 1706, for the Union of England and Scotland, when *Lord Belhaven* suppliantly bowing, and reverentially looking towards the Duke of Queensbury, the royal commissioner, fell on his knees, and thus addressed " him:—My Lord! I shall make a pause here, " and stop going on further with my discourse " till I see, if his Grace my Lord Commissioner " will receive my humble proposals for re- " moving misunderstandings among us, and " putting an end to our fatal divisions. Upon " my honour, I have no other design! I am con- " tent to beg the favour on my bended knees!"

The Duke of Hamilton also was eloquent upon this memorable occasion. " Shall we then," he said, " yield with a vote, what our forefathers " maintained for so many ages, with the sword? " Am I now heard by none of those illustrious " patriots, who aided Bruce to restore the con- " stitution, and to revenge the treachery of

" England? to overturn the mean usurpation of
" Baliol? Where are the Douglases? where, the
" Campbells? Where, the peers? and where
" the barons? once the bulwark of our nation:
" Have they left no posterity either to improve
" their glory or to defend the rights, which they
" transmitted from ancient times? The children
" of those, who aided them in the pursuit of ho-
" nour, are more faithful to the reputation of
" their ancestors! The PEOPLE have neither
" forgotten, nor contemned the freedom, which
" their fathers preserved with their blood. But
" the NOBLES! a degenerate race! are ready
" to stain their honours, though they bear the
" titles of their ancestors! Shall we then
" tamely give up the independence and sove-
" reignty of our country, when we are com-
" manded to preserve them by those, whom we
" represent? Shall we yield to our fears? or,
" it is possible to meaner motives, when we are
" assured of the support of the whole nation,
" roused to rage by indignity and shame*."

II. 3.

Mr. *Gibbon.*

IF the Reminiscent had written a voluminous history, and it had been universally admired;

* M'Pherson's Hist. Vol. ii, p. 355.

if he had spent a life of persevering literary industry, and enjoyed habitual communication with the most illustrious, learned and amiable persons in England and France; and now wished to transmit to posterity memorials of himself and his writings,—he might pray for Mr. Gibbon's pen.

Were an Englishman required to show the highest degree of melody in prose, of which his language is susceptible, he would probably select his specimens of it from Mr. Gibbon's history. If he were called upon to produce instances of its happiest phrases, or most pointed and descriptive epithets, he could not have recourse to a richer storehouse. He might also confidently ask, whether ancient or modern literature can show a history so learned, written in such luminous method, or replete with such exquisite geographical lore as Mr. Gibbon's. Nothing of the kind equals his biting notes. But he has great defects; his insidious attack upon Christianity, is a crime; his too frequent obscenity, deserves the severest reprobation; he is almost always affected; he is very often obscure.

Both his excellencies and his faults are admirably described by *Mr. Porson*, in his Preface to the Letters addessed by him to *Mr. Archdeacon Travis*. After giving Mr. Gibbon's style,

its due share of praise, he remarks that, "Mr. "Gibbon sometimes *draws out the thread of his* "*verbosity finer than the staple of his argu-* "*ment**:" that, "in endeavouring to avoid "vulgar terms, he too frequently dignifies "trifles, and clothes common thoughts in a "splendid dress, that would be rich enough for "the noblest ideas." That "we are too often "reminded of that *great man* Mr. Prig, whose "manner was so inimitably fine, that he had as "much to say upon a Riband as a Raphael†"

With equal justice, but greater gravity, Mr. Porson proceeds to observe, that "sometimes "Mr. Gibbon, in his anxiety to vary his phrase "becomes obscure; and instead of calling "men by their names, defines them by their "birth, alliance, office, or some other circum- "stance of their history;" that "sometimes, in "his attempts at elegance, he loses sight of "English, and sometimes of sense."

Mr. Gibbon's History is a picture, which exhibits at full length, and in the most gorgeous colours, the subject sketched by *Montesquieu* in his celebrated "*Grandeur et Décadence de l'Em-* "*pire Romain.*"—Does not the sketch present to every informed reader, a clearer view of the

---

* Love's Labour Lost. † Foote's Mirror.

object, than the picture? A person who wishes to acquire complete knowledge of the long and interesting æra, described by Mr. Gibbon, will obtain it much sooner and better from *Le Beau*'s unambitious "*History of the Lower Empire*;" but Le Beau has produced nothing so instructive or interesting, as Mr. Gibbon's Geographical Chapters, his accounts of the Civil Law and of the taking of Constantinople by the Venetians, and afterwards by the Turks.—The reign of Julian is ably written, but prejudice and partiality never went further, than, Mr. Gibbon's ascription to Jovian of the miseries, which attended his retreat from Persia; when it appears, even by the historian's own pages, that the rashness of Julian, was the cause of all the disasters of Jovian's army.

Mr. Gibbon frequently mentions in terms of warm admiration, the chaste simplicity of the Grecian school: how little does it appear in his writings? When such strong admiration is expressed, and no attempt to imitate it appears, is it not lawful to suspect affectation? Did *Silius Italicus* really feel the beauties of Virgil, whom he professed to adore? No person has described *Milton*'s transcendant excellence in terms more energetic or happy, than *Doctor Johnson:* but, to use the words of *Helvetius*, was it so much

from the *estime senti*, as the *estime convenu*? Had it been from the former, would he have expressed himself so coldly of *Gray*, or *Collins*? We know that *Pope*'s lofty lines in praise of *Handel*, were not owing to his own sense of Handel's merit, for he himself was perfectly insensible of the charms of music, but to the representation of it, which he had received from Doctor Arbuthnot.

In the opinion of the Reminiscent, Mr. Gibbon's Historical Account of *the Paulicians*, is the most interesting chapter in his work.

His *Memoirs of his own Life and Writings*, his *Literary Journal* and *Extracts of his Studies*, are exquisite. The account, which he gives in his Memoirs, of his conversion to the Catholic religion; his justification of it by the example of *Bayle* and *Chillingworth*; his subsequent renunciation of the "Romish Creed;" his receiving the sacrament, in the church of Lausanne, and thenceforth suspending his religious enquiries;—his campaigns, his marches and countermarches to and from "Hilsea Barracks,—a "seat of disease and discord;"—"the populous "and disorderly town of Devizes,"—"the be-"loved Blandford,"—"the fashionable South-"ampton,"—and "the beach of Dover, where "he exercised in sight of the Gallic shores,"—

are delightful: the solemn terms, in which he mentions them, give his narrative an air of pleasantry, and sometimes even of humour. His representation of Swiss manners is highly pleasing. Who does not wish to have been admitted to the parties of what he calls "*la Société du printems*," consisting, as he tells us, of "twenty young unmarried ladies of genteel, "though not of the very first families; the eldest "perhaps about twenty, all agreeable, several "handsome, and three of exquisite beauty, "who assembled at each other's houses, almost "every day, without control, or even the pre-"sence of a mother, or an aunt, and trusted "to their own prudence, among a crowd of "young men of every nation in Europe. They "laughed, they danced, they sang, they played "at cards, they acted comedies; but, in the "midst of this careless gaiety, they respected "themselves, and were respected by the men; "the invisible line between liberty and licen-"tiousness was never transgressed by a ges-"ture, a word, or a look; and their virgin chas-"tity was never sullied by the breath of scan-"dal or suspicion; a singular institution, ex-"pressive of the innocent simplicity of Swiss "manners."

But,—who does not still more envy, Mr. Gib-

bon, " the two days of free and private con-
" versation, which Mr. Fox gave him at Lau-
" sanne? He seemed to me," says Mr. Gib-
bon, " to feel the happiness of my situation,
" while I admired the powers of a superior
" man, as they are blended in his attractive
" character, with the softness and simplicity of
" a child. Perhaps no human being was ever
" more perfectly exempt from the taint of ma-
" levolence, vanity or falsehood," Who, that was personally acquainted with Mr. Fox; who, that only knew him by his public character, does not read these lines with delight? In all the encomiums of Mr. Fox, collected in the *Philopatris Warvicensis*, are not these lines the most gratifying to his friends?

Was Mr. Gibbon profoundly learned? this question has been asked more than once. Surely it may,—without any hesitation,—be answered in the affirmative. It might however have been thought questionable, if the pretension had rested upon his *Journal and Extracts*. These shew that he perused regularly and seriously *the Iliad, the Satyrs of Juvenal, the Italia Antique of Cluverius, Spanheim's Treatise of Medals, many volumes of the Memoires des Inscriptions, and of the Bibliothèques of Le Clerc*, and some minor works. How small a portion does this contain

of the stock of knowledge, necessary to constitute a really learned man! The journal and extracts give us reason to suppose that his Latin acquisitions were great; and to suspect that his acquaintance with the Greek authors was very limited. Having just a sufficient knowledge of that copious language to feel what long and arduous labour is necessary to acquire even a moderate notion of it, the Reminiscent must be permitted to doubt, if *more than this* were obtained by Mr. Gibbon. He should, however, add, that the late Dr. Harwood, than whom there have been few better judges of Greek erudition, mentioned to him that "Mr. Gibbon read with "him several portions of Thucydides;" that "he found Mr. Gibbon, a complete master of "the Greek tongue," and that "his only reason "for requiring the Doctor's attendance, was to "obtain the English pronunciation of Greek."

The celebrated *Menage* writes that, in his time, Paris contained three persons only, who could currently read, and without the aid of a dictionary, currently understand, the meaning of any Greek work presented to them for the first time.

Doctor Harwood said of himself that, unless the subject of the work was particularly abstruse, he could thus read and thus understand any Greek author for the first time, put into his

hand. " Some how or other, however, I don't," he used to say, " read any Greek work, as I " do a newspaper."

The late Mr. Charles Townley presented an inscription, recently discovered, to several Greek scholars of eminence, with a request that they would translate it: this was done, and all the translations materially differed. The Grecians on the Continent object to the Grecians of Great Britain, that they confine their Greek studies to Homer, Theocritus, a few of the most distinguished Greek historians, orators, and scenic writers; and that they have little knowledge of Plato or Aristotle, scarcely any of the Greek fathers, none of the profane Greek writers of the second order, or of the Greek writers of the lower empire. The Reminiscent repeats the charge that it may be known: but assuredly,—

" Non nostrum est tantas componere lites."— VIRGIL.

To return to Mr. Gibbon,—it appears that, through the whole of the five years, which he spent at Lausanne, his literary application was severe, methodical and constant; and that, when he did not read for relaxation, his attention was always directed to the best writers. Five years thus employed by a person qualified, as Mr. Gibbon certainly was, for the acqui-

sition of literature, will confer on the student an ample stock of learning. Much of what he afterwards reads, he will apprehend almost instinctively. The difference between the time, which uninformed, and that, which informed readers require, for the acquisition of the same amount of new knowledge, is very great.

It may be added, that the difference between the time, which it takes a person who reads little, and a person who reads incessantly, to peruse the same quantity of words, is inconceivable by all but the initiated. A person habituated to read, apprehends instantaneously, by his eye, a much greater quantity of writing, or print, than a person not thus habituated. It may be added, that his knowledge of the subject, his familiarity with the general march of composition, suggests to his mind, much in the book, which he does not read, but which he knows the book to contain, almost as well as if he had actually read it.

Combining these circumstances, habitual readers will acquire the knowledge, of the contents of a book, in a manner, which astonishes ordinary readers. Mr. Boswell assures us, that Doctor Johnson read in this manner. On the other hand, Mr. Sheridan for a long time read

so little, that, at last he read so slowly as to seem rather to decypher, than to read.

Through life, Mr. Gibbon was a very early riser. Supposing this to have given him four hours every day for undisturbed literary application, what a mass of learning would he, in the course of a year, treasure up during these hours! Before the first volume, of his History, had given him the celebrity, and fashion, which he afterwards possessed, six o'clock, was his usual hour of rising: fashionable parties, and the House of Commons, brought him down to eight.

II. 4.

Huet.

But, if the reader wishes to see, the highest degree, to which application can be carried, he will find it, in the following account, given by Huet, the celebrated Bishop of Avranches, of his own studies.

" I willingly yield," he says, " to many stu-
" dents in the success of their studies; but, in
" love of study, I yield to none. When I came
" into life, I brought with me a passion for lite-
" rature: I scarcely had left the breast, when I
" began to envy those whom I saw reading,
" and to figure to myself a thousand pleasures
" when I should read as they did. As soon

" as I began to read, I took to learning with so
" much ardour, as to quit for it all the plea-
" sures of my age. I flew from science to
" science; and I never thought I knew any
" thing, while aught remained to be learned.
" As soon as I became my own master, I wished
" to be acquainted with all the princes of lite-
" rature in those times; I sought, by visits or
" letters, to procure their friendship. Thus my
" acquaintance with them was formed; many
" loved me; some, I flattered myself, esteemed
" me. As early as my twentieth year, I was in
" literary intercourse with the Sirmonds, the Pe-
" tariuses, the Dupuis, the Bocharts, the Blon-
" dells, the Labbés, the Bouillauds, the Naudés,
" the Salmasiuses, the Heinsiuses, the Vossiuses,
" the Seldens, the Cartesiuses, the Gassendis,
" and the Menâges. Neither the fire of youth,
" the embarrassments of business, the variety of
" employments, the society of my equals, the
" wanderings of inclination, or the distractions
" of the world, could ever moderate the indo-
" mitable passion for study, which always pos-
" sessed me. This passion, in my advanced
" age, I feel as strong as ever*."

* *Immorior studiis et amore senesco sciendi,* Was the mottoof a benedictine monk: May not the Reminiscent presume to adopt it?

The consequence of this incessant application to study, is thus described by the Abbé d'Olivét:—"If we consider that Huetius lived to "attain his eightieth year, with the exception "of only a few days; that he was immersed in "study from his tenderest age to his latest days; "that he almost always had his own time at "his command; that he uninterruptedly en- "joyed good health; that he always, while he "was dressing or undressing, had his servants "to read to him; and that, to use his own "words, he permitted nothing to take him "from study. It may perhaps be said with "truth, that of all mortals who have existed, "Huetius is he who has studied the most."

It should be added, that his manners and accomplishments were those of a perfect gentleman.

The works, by which he is most known in England, are his "*Huetiana*;"—"His Memoirs "of himself,"—"*Huetius de Rebus ad eum* "*pertinentibus*;" and "His Treatise on the "Navigation and Commerce of the Antients." His treatises, "*De Optimo genere Interpretandi*," and "*De Claris Interpretibus*," are both instructive and pleasing: they were favourites with the late Mr. Porson. His "*Demonstratio* "*Evangelica*" is a mine of erudition, it is

written in the purest latinity; but diverges into such ranges of multifarious learning, and wanders sometimes so far from its subject, as to justify the application which has been made to it, of the verse in Terence, " *Di te perdant cum* " *hâc tuâ demonstratione.*"

The *Huetiana* contains an article full of curious observations, on the injustice done to literary merit. The *Cardinal du Perron*, and *Plessis du Mornay* are mentioned in it, as persons, who have been praised infinitely beyond their real worth; our *Bernard, and Gale*, are said not to have been adequately praised. " Both," says Huetius, " were men of the most profound " erudition; Mr. Bernard was complete master " of the Oriental languages, and well versed " in antiquity; Mr. Gale's profound acquaint- " ance with the Belles-Letters was astonishing; " but his modesty was so great, that he ap- " peared to conceal his knowledge. It was " with difficulty that he permitted even the " initials of his name, to be printed in the title- " pages of his works. I never knew a person " more obliging, or who set less value on his " services. I often wished for copies, or ex- " tracts, to be made for me, of English manu- " scripts. I never should have presumed, to " ask Mr. Gale to employ upon them, more than

" a quarter of an hour of the valuable time,
" which he employed so much for the benefit
" of the public; but the moment he learned,
" through some of our common friends, what
" I stood in need of, he quitted his own occu-
" pations to serve me, and I received, almost
" without knowing from whom, all I wanted.
" This beneficent disposition is without ex-
" ample."

This intrinsic, modest, retiring worth is part of the English character: *l'art de se faire valoir* —a less honourable, but more useful art, the English do not possess, in the same degree. This is remarked by Lord Peterborough, in one of his letters to Dean Swift.

Our Gallic neighbours are not quite so scrupulous as Mr. Gale, of inscribing their names on title-pages. The Reverend Alban Butler, was the author of "The Lives of Saints,"—a work of the most profound, and extensive erudition; in high request in every Catholic country, and greatly esteemed, by many respectable Protestants. It has been translated into the French, Italian, and Spanish languages; and also, as the writer believes, into the German. The French translation of it, was executed by the Abbé de Godéseard. It was said, in the first edition, to be, " *un Ou-*
" *vrage traduit de l'Anglois de Monsieur Butler,*

" *par Monsieur de Godéseard*;" in the second edition it was called " *Les Vies des Saints par* " *Monsieur Butler, et Monsieur de Godéseard*;" in the third edition it was called " *Les Vies des* " *Saints, par Monsieur de Godeseard, et Mon-* " *sieur Butler*;" in some subsequent editions it is called " *Les Vies des Saints, de Monsieur de* " *Godesard.*"

This reminds the Reminiscent of a story often told in France, of a maid servant, of a French curé, who prided herself, on the order and brightness of her kitchen furniture, and was fond of exhibiting it to the parishioners. At first she said, " *Tout çela est a Monsieur le curé*;" then, " *tout çela est a Monsieur le curé et* " *a moi*;" then, *tout çela est a moi et a Monsieur* " *le curé*;" then, " *tout çela est a moi.*"

II. 5.

Madame de Staal,—(née Laûnai.)

If far beneath the magisterial dignity of d'Agués-seau,—the lofty conflicts of Cardinal de Retz, —the elegant literary career of Mr. Gibbon, —or the learned ease of Huetius,—it had been the lot of the Reminiscent, to move in a very low condition,—yet to have seen, observed and read much, and he had felt a wish to communicate his obscure adventures, and his reflections on

them, to the public, he could not have desired a better pen, than that of Madame de Staal.

" My lot," she says in the first lines of her Memoirs, " was exactly the reverse of that of " a heroine of a romance. She rises a shep- " herdess, and sets a princess. In my child- " hood, I was treated as a person of distinction; " I afterwards found that I was nothing; and " that nothing in the universe belonged to me."

Her maiden name was *Launai*; she was born of poor parents; and placed in a convent. The abbess and some of her friends and relations grew immoderately fond of her, and indulged her in every caprice: still, she applied with diligence to many useful and ornamental branches of study, and, in the end, became learned and accomplished. She herself has informed us, that her countenance and figure were far from pleasing; yet, in every stage of life, she attached many to her. As early as the age of seventeen, she had a swain at her feet. " I," she says, " was flattered by it; our first and " last conquests are the most pleasing. When " one is young, it is delightful to think that " we please at so early an age; in the decline " of life, it is yet more delightful to think " we still have charms." Her convent was in

the middle of one side of a square; a friend, whom she visited, lived at a house facing it, on the opposite side. Her friend's brother shewed Mademoiselle de Launai great attentions: he always insisted upon accompanying her from his sister's house to the convent; and, at first, conducted her to it along the sides of the square. As his passion decreased, he shortened the walk, and at length took her in a direct line from the house to the convent. "By this," says the observing lady, "I found that his "passion for me was exactly diminished in the "proportion of the diagonal to two sides of a "square." Is not this the most exact calculation of a decreasing love, that maiden ever made?

The death of the abbess terminated all the gay scenes of her childhood; she found herself without money and without friends. But the Duchess de la Fertê took charge of her. She assured her protegée, that she would make her fortune; ran about with her every where, presented her to every one, told them how well she spoke, how well she wrote, made her talk, read and write before them; always exclaiming, that what she did was ravishing. Mademoiselle de Launai felt the ridiculousness of the scene, but had no resource. It ended in her being placed as a

waiting maid to the waiting women of the Duchess of Maine, in her splendid residence at the chateau de Sçeaux.

There, she lived among the lowest household, unnoticed and unknown. She describes in her memoirs the miseries of her situation; but she bore it with resignation, and still preserved some of her former acquaintance; and some respectable persons still continued to esteem her, to admit her visits, and to interest themselves in her welfare. Among these, were the Abbé de Chaulieu, the Abbé de Vertot, and Fontenelle.

It happened that a Mademoiselle de Tétar, a young lady of exquisite beauty, pretended to be possessed by the devil. Many persons of distinction, and among them Fontenelle, went to see her. A person mentioned this to the Duchess of Maine in a large company: and insinuated, that Fontenelle had observed the young lady with eyes not absolutely philosophical. Mademoiselle de Launai being accidentally present, the duchess, knowing Fontenelle to be one of her protectors, told her she ought to inform him of the malice of the world. She accordingly addressed him a letter upon the subject: it is an exquisite badinage; it was universally admired, and every one would have a copy of it. The duchess, recollecting what

she had said to Mademoiselle de Launai, charged her with being the letter-writer. To the astonishment of every person present, she owned it. This brought her into notice: she was advanced a little in her line of servitude, and treated with some consideration; but was often made to feel the lowliness of her lot. Upon this she remarks, that "the contempt, "which the great discover for persons in an "inferior condition of life, is often thrown back "upon themselves, in the minds of the by-"standers." The remark is just, and the great sometimes feel the justice of it. The Duchess de la Ferté again began to notice her. "My "dear child," the duchess once said to her, in a moment of great fondness, "I have looked "around the world, and I find that I am the "only person in it always in the right."

Mademoiselle de Launai has presented an excellent portrait of the Duchess de la Ferté, in a charming comedy written by her, entitled, "*l'Engouement*;"—"Infatuation;" it is published in the fourth volume of her works: it was acted at Sceaux.

No one was more attentive to her than the Abbé de Chaulieu: she has preserved in her memoirs an exquisite copy of verses, composed by him in her praise. He made parties for her;

gave her delicious suppers, and assembled at them the most elegant persons of the time; "in "fine, his chief thought," she says, "appeared "to be to fill my life with all the amusements of "which it was susceptible. He convinced me, "that there is no happiness greater than that of "being beloved by a person who sets no value "upon himself, and who pretends to no return "from you." These, the Reminiscent thinks golden words: It is delightful to him to suppose that even his age does not prevent a person from rendering himself pleasing to a young lady, although in this humble, hopeless character.

A great change in her occupations took place when the Duke and Duchess of Maine commenced their intrigues against the Duke of Orleans. In these, Mademoiselle de Launai made herself eminently useful to her protectress. She gives an interesting account of these foolish proceedings. They originated in the pretensions of the spurious children of Lewis XIV. to legitimacy, and in the claim of the Duke of Maine to the regency. To establish the former, many ancient authors and documents were consulted, and many memorials prepared. The duchess would see them all, and have them explained to her. Sometimes her bed was covered with folios, quartos, and

parchments; so that, to copy Mademoiselle de Launai's words, "the duchess looked like "Enceladus under the fragments of Mount "Etna." The intrigue ended ill. The duke, the duchess, and all the persons employed by them, were sent to prison. Mademoiselle de Launai was closely confined in the Bastile, during two years. It is agreed, that throughout this strange affair, she conducted herself with honour and firmness. If we should believe her, she was not absolutely displeased with her situation in prison: "In a prison," she says, "a person does not what he likes: but neither "is he obliged to do what another likes."

On her liberation, she returned to the Duchess of Maine. "She told me much," says Mademoiselle de Launai, "but asked me no questions." How well do these few words paint the duchess's indifference to her protegée! From this time, her situation was gradually ameliorated; but she was always made to feel the original sin, as she calls it, of her humble birth. Once, when she thought herself in great favour, she petitioned to be admitted to attend the reading of a new work: this was granted her, but upon condition that she should keep out of sight. "A lesson to me," she says, "not to "proffer indiscreet petitions." She was finally

advanced to the great honor of undressing the duchess, and reading at her bed side till she slept. She associated, however, with the *dames d'honneur* of the princess; but it was rather by connivance than express permission. She sometimes received from them, "what patient merit "from the unworthy takes."

The Duke of Maine settled a pension upon her; and from regard to her, effected an arrangement, in consequence of which, she married M. de Staal, a lieutenant of the Swiss guards, afterwards captain and maréchal de camp. She died in 1750. Her memoirs are written with great purity of language; her wit sparkles in every page of them.

A charming contrast to her memoirs, well written as they truly are, may be found in those of *Miss Elizabeth Smith*, the daughter of Mr. Smith of Burnham. The female character appears no where to more advantage, than in this pleasing work. Learning, taste and elegance, elevation and firmness of character, feminine meekness and grace, are seen in every page. It should be in the hands of every daughter.

II. 6.

Cardan.

It is probable that, in their biographical me-

moirs, the Chancellor d'Aguésseau had something less perfect; Cardinal de Retz something more blameable; Mr. Gibbon a vanity or two more, than they have related of themselves; and that even if the blameless tenor of the life of Huetius, as he himself describes it, were sifted, it would be found to have some chaff, which he has not produced. We know that, when Madame de Staal talked of writing memoirs of her own life, she was asked, "if she would tell all?" She answered, "I shall only exhibit my "profile."

One person however may be mentioned, who really did tell—ALL.

"I was," says Cardan of himself, "one, who "lived only for the passing day; a trifler, a "despiser of all religion. I never forgot an in- "jury; I was envious, a cheat, a betrayer, a "magician, an enchanter, perpetually in quar- "rels; a hater of all who belonged to me; aban- "doned to low gratifications; selfish, disagree- "able, an astrologer, an enthusiast, obscene, "lascivious, a slanderer, a calumniator, and, "from the badness of my morals, spurned by "all with whom I lived."

All this Cardan records of himself, in his ac- "count of his own life, (*De Vitâ propriâ*); and *Gabriel Nandé*, the editor of it, has, in a pre-

face to it, gravely shewn that Cardan had done himself no more than justice.

What must be the surprise of the reader, when he is informed that Cardan,—this very Cardan,—was one of the ablest writers, one of the most eminent physicians, and perhaps the greatest mathematician of his age? That his rules for resolving cubic equations, are still in use, and still bear his name; and that he left behind him an Algebraic problem (*the irreducible case*), which is not yet solved! Nothing in the history of Algebra is more interesting than the account of the dispute between him and Tertalea*.

In this present article, the Reminiscent has made several suppositions. He has suggested that, if he had the natural and acquired endowments of the persons whom he has mentioned, he should wish for their pens to transmit them to posterity. What ought to have been Cardan's wish?—That God would forgive him; and the most profound abyss hide him from the sight and memory of man.

Ought not *Rousseau*, after inditing his "*Confessions*," to have wished the same?

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* "See Dr. Hutton's History of Algebra, and Montucla's History of Mathematics."

III.

"THE BOOK OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH."

1. *Doctor Southey's "Book of the Church:"*—2. *Proper Style of Controversy:*—3. *The Reminiscent's "Book of The Roman Catholic Church:*—4. *The Controversy upon it."*

III.—1.

Doctor Southey's Book of the Church.

THE Reminiscent has already mentioned its having been his design, that his Reminiscences should close his literary career. Dr. Southey's "BOOK OF THE CHURCH," extorted from him another publication; and,—φευ! φευ! engaged him in controversy.

The Doctor's "Book of the Church" appeared to the Reminiscent, to shew extensive learning and great power of composition. He thought its style excellent; that it was nervous and elegant, and sometimes rose to eloquence. He particularly admired its religious tone; which, while it gives the work an air of solemnity, never degenerates into cant. But he thought it extremely unjust to the Catholic cause, as it brought forward the dark side of catholicism, while it was almost quite silent on the parts of it which are acknowledged, by all persons of candour and information, to be fair and edifying; as it attributed to the general body of the Catholics of the present

day, whatever had been most objectionable in the conduct of any of their ancestors; and as even these objectionable points were often immoderately exaggerated. If the Roman Catholic religion be such as it is described by Doctor Southey, it is, to use his own words, "a pro-"digious structure of imposture and wicked-"ness;" and these infect the Roman Catholics, both as a body and as individuals; and render them at once despicable and dangerous.

It would be found difficult to name any Anti-Catholic publication which has proceeded, during the last fifty years, from the pen of a *gentleman*, that approaches Doctor Southey's in abuse. Its merits and its faults equally contributed to render it popular; the enemies of the Catholic cause zealously promoted its circulation: and this was increased by the actual agitation of the public mind, on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

An Answer to it was therefore necessary. This, at the request of the Reminiscent, was proposed, by one of his friends, to the late Dr. Milner. In consequence of it, the learned prelate published, under the name of *Merlin*—an anagram of *Milner*—"*Strictures on the Book* "*of the Church.*" They were far from being destitute of merit, but were universally allowed

to be unequal to the prelate's former defences of the Catholic cause. Contumelious expressions were too often found in them; the Reminiscent never met a Catholic who did not lament them.

Thus, a further Answer to "The Book of the "Church" became necessary: the task of preparing it fell to the Reminiscent:— never did a person engage in polemics with greater unwillingness.

III. 2.

Proper Style of Controversy:—1. *Mr. Porson's Remarks upon it*:—2. *Gibbon and Davis*:—3. *Bossuet and Fénélon*:—4. *Mabillon and Papebrooch.*

In preparing his Reply, the Reminiscent prescribed to himself a rule, from which nothing should make him swerve,—that he would not use a single word that was irreconcileable with the spirit or manners of a Christian gentleman; and that this abstinence from contumely should be real, and not in words only.

1. Mr. Porson's observations, in his preface to his "*Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis*," on "the mock politeness, which conveys abuse in "words of apparent gentleness," are very just. The "*Friendly Conferenca of Limborch and* "*Orobio*," "*the Controversial Letters of Fa-*"*ther Scheffmacker*," a Strasburgh Jesuit; the "*Treatise of Dr. Barrow on the Pope's Supre-*

"*macy*;" *the Accounts of the Conference between Bossuet and Claude*, as each separately published it, and *Mr. Faber's Reply to the Bishop of Aire*, are written in the spirit of true Christian and true gentlemanly courtesy. Nor are the Roman Catholics insensible to the terms in which the *Bishop of London* has expressed himself in their regard, in his late Address to his Clergy.

2. The praise of real forbearance cannot be given to the language used by MR. GIBBON, in his reply to MR. DAVIS. He abstains from coarse language and vulgar abuse; his words are always those of a gentleman and a scholar; but no pages can be produced, which contain more lofty contempt or more bitter sarcasm.

After answering an accusation which Mr. Davis had brought against him, Mr. Gibbon thus proceeds:—"I disdain to add a single re-"flection; nor shall I qualify the conduct of "my adversary with any of those epithets which "might seem to be the expression of my resent-"ment, though I should be constrained to make "use of them, as the only terms in the English "language which could accurately represent my "cool and unprejudiced sentiments."—Mr. Porson justly observes, that Mr. Davis was not much obliged to Mr. Gibbon, for this exertion of good nature.

3. No controversy is more brilliant than that which was carried on by BOSSUET AND FENELON, on the subject of Quietism.

It began by Bossuet's "*Relation of Quietism.*" In composing it, the prelate availed himself of some secret and confidential writings, which he had received from *Madame de Guyon*; of private letters written to him by Fénélon, during their early intimacy; and of a letter which, under the seal of friendship, Fénélon had written to Madame de Maintenon, and which, in this trying hour, she unfeelingly communicated to Bossuet. The substance of those different pieces Bossuet connected with so much art, interwove in them a mention of so many curious facts, so entertaining an account of Madame de Guyon's visions and pretensions to inspiration, and so many interesting anecdotes of the conduct of Lewis the XIVth and Madame de Maintenon; he occasionally inserted so much dignified and truly episcopal eloquence; deplored so feelingly the errors of Fénélon; presented his own conduct, during their disputes, in so favourable a view; put the whole together with such exquisite skill, expressed it with so much elegance, and set it off by such brilliancy of thought and expression, as excited universal admiration, and attracted to its author universal favour. In one

part of it, he assumed a style of mystery, and announced, " that the time was come, when it " was the Almighty's will that the secrets of the " union should be revealed." A terrible revelation was then expected: it appalled every heart: it seemed that the existence of virtue itself would become problematical, if it should be proved that Fénélon was not virtuous.

A letter of Madame de Maintenon shews the eagerness with which this extraordinary performance of Bossuet was read; " they talk here of " nothing else; they lend it, they snatch it " from one another, they devour it." She herself circulated copies of it every where.

Nothing could exceed the consternation which it raised among the friends of Fénélon, at Rome and at Paris. His first intention was not to answer it; but the Abbé de Chantèrac informed him, that the impression which it made against him at Rome was so strong, that a full refutation of it was absolutely necessary. He therefore determined to reply. Bossuet's *Relation* appeared in the middle of June, Fénélon's *Reply* was published on the 3d of the following August.

Never did human eloquence produce a nobler effusion of the indignation of insulted virtue and genius. In the first lines of it, Fénélon

placed himself above his antagonist; and, to the last, preserved his elevation. "Notwithstanding my innocence," says Fénélon, "I was always apprehensive of a dispute on facts. I knew that such a dispute between Bishops must occasion considerable scandal. If, as the Bishop of Meaux has a hundred times asserted, my book be full of the most extravagant contradictions, and the most monstrous errors, why has he recourse to discussions, which must be attended with the most terrible of all scandals? Why does he reveal to libertines, what he terms a woeful mystery, A PRODIGY OF SEDUCTION? Why, when the propriety of censuring my book is the sole question, does he travel out of its text? But the Bishop of Meaux begins to find it difficult to establish his accusations of my doctrine; the History of Madame de Guyon then comes to his aid, and he lays hold of it as an amusing tale, likely to make all his mistakes of my doctrine disappear, and be forgotten. Thus, when he can no longer argue the point of doctrine, he resorts to personalities; he publishes on the housetop, what before he only ventured to whisper; he has recourse to all that is most odious in human society. The secret of private letters

" written in intimate and religious confidence,
" (the most sacred after that of confession), has
" nothing inviolable for him. He produces my
" letters at Rome; he prints letters, which I
" writ to him in the strictest confidence.— But,
" all will be useless to him; he will find that
" nothing that is dishonourable ever proves
" expedient."

Bossuet, in his Prelation of Quietism, exclaimed,—" May I venture to say it"?—Yes,
" I can say it confidently, and in the face of
" the sun: Could I, the most simple of mortals,
" the most incapable of artifice and dissimula-
" tion,—could I, single and unaided, from the
" solitude of my cabinet, buried in papers and
" books, by imperceptible springs put all the
" court, all Paris, all the kingdom, all Europe,
" Rome itself into action, to ruin, merely by
" the strength of my own personal credit, the
" Archbishop of Cambray?"

In answer to this animated figure, Fénélon cites a passage in which Bossuet deplores the general INFATUATION in his favour.—
" You lament, then," says Fénélon, " the sud-
" den and universal infatuation in my favour!
" Permit me to avail myself against you, of
" your own vivid expressions. Could I, in
" exile at Cambray, from the solitude of my

" cabinet, by imperceptible springs, attach to
" me so many disinterested and impartial per-
" sons, who, before they read my replies to you,
" were so prejudiced against me? Could I, in
" exile! I, contradicted! I, overwhelmed on all
" sides! could I, do that for my writings, which
" the Bishop of Meaux, in credit, in power, with
" so many means of making himself dreaded,
" could not do against them? The Bishop of
" Meaux complains that cabals and factions are
" in motion; that passion and interest divide
" the world. Be it so! But, what interest can
" any person have to stir in my cause? I, stand
" single, and am wholly destitute of human
" help; no one, that has a view to his interest,
" dares look upon me. Great bodies, great
" powers, says the Bishop, are in motion, but,
" where are the great bodies, the great powers,
" that stand up for me! These are the excuses
" which the Bishop of Meaux gives for the
" world's appearing to be divided on his charges
" against my doctrine; which at first he repre-
" sented to be so completely abominable as to
" admit of no fair explanation. This division
" in the public opinion on a matter, which he
" represented to be so clear, makes him feel it
" advisable to shift the subject of dispute from
" a question of doctrine to a personal charge."

Fénélon thus concludes:—" If the Bishop of " Meaux has any further writing, any further " evidence to produce against me, I conjure " him not to do it by halves. Such a proceed- " ing is worse than any publication: I conjure " him to forward it instantly to Rome. I fear " nothing, thank God, that will be communicated " and examined judicially; I fear nothing but " vague report and unexamined allegation.

" I cannot here forbear from calling to wit- " ness the adorable Being, whose eye pierces " the thickest darkness, and before whom, we " must all appear. He reads my heart; he " knows that I adhere to no person, and to no " book; that I am attached to him, to his " church, and to no other; that incessantly in " his holy presence, I beseech him, with sighs " and tears, to restore peace to his church, and " shorten the days of scandal; to bring back " the shepherds to their flocks; to reunite all in " his holy mansion, and to bestow as many bless- " ings on the Bishop of Meaux, as the Bishop " of Meaux has flung crosses on me."

Never did virtue and genius obtain a more complete triumph. Fénélon's reply, by a kind of enchantment, restored to him every heart — Crushed by the strong arm of royalty, abandoned by the multitude, there was nothing, to which

he could look but his own powers. Obliged to fight for his honour, it was necessary for him, if he did not consent to sink under the accusation, to assume a part still more imposing than that of his mighty antagonist. Much had been expected from him; but none had supposed that he would raise himself to so prodigious a height as enabled him not only to repel the attack of his antagonist, but actually to reduce him to the defensive.

Bossuet published remarks on Fénélon's reply; Fénélon published an answer to these which, on the question of facts, fixed the public in his favour.

"What an indecency," says Fénélon, "it is "to behold, in the house of God, in his very "sanctuary, his principal ministers unceasingly "venting on each other, vague declamations "which prove nothing. Your age and my in- "firmities must make us soon appear before "him, whom credit cannot influence, eloquence "cannot seduce. You profess to be afraid of "my power, to fear my subtlety. To what are "you reduced! You are under a necessity of "proving seriously that I have more power than "you! What cannot your subtlety prove, if "it can prove a fact so contrary to what is "known to the whole world?"

In one of his works, Bossuet had compared Fénélon and Madame de Guyon to the heretic *Montanus*, and his prophetess *Priscilla*. Fénélon exclaimed against the odiousness of the comparison: Bossuet, in his justification, alledged that a criminal intercourse between Montanus and Priscilla had never been suspected; that it was a mere commerce of mental illusion, like that of Fénélon and Madame de Guyon. "But," says Fénélon, "does my illusion, such even as "you represent it, resemble that of Montanus? "That fanatic had detached from their hus- "bands two wives, who followed him every "where; he delivered them up to a false spirit "of prophecy; he was himself possessed by it, "and all three, in a transport of diabolical fury, "strangled themselves. Such was he, the abo- "mination of all succeeding times, to whom "you compare me!—me, the dear friend of "your life!—me, whom you carry in your "heart. You say I have no right to complain "of the comparison. No, my Lord Bishop, I do "not complain: I grieve for you—for you, who "can coolly say that you accuse me of nothing, "when you compare me to Montanus! Who "now believes what you say? You have done "for me more than I could have done for my-

" self. But what a wretched comfort is this, " when I see the scandal it brings into the " house of God; what a triumph your disgrace " is to heretics and libertines!"

In perusing the admirable specimens of oratory from which these extracts are given, it is impossible not to admire the eloquence of the illustrious adversaries, their conscious dignity, and their undeviating abstinence from vulgar abuse. But each endeavoured to put his opponent as much as possible in the wrong, and to raise to the utmost the indignation of the public against him. Each however professed to write at the foot of the cross. Might not an ill-natured casuist enquire, if the language of either was perfectly reconcilable with the spirit of the meek and humble sufferer who died upon it?

4. The manner in which the controversy between DOM MABILLON and FATHER PAPEBROOCH was conducted, was not open to this inquiry. There, the contest between those profound scholars was as much for pre-eminence in true humility as for pre-eminence in literary renown. On the question in discussion between them, Mabillon is allowed to have had the advantage; this was unreservedly acknowledged by Papebrooch:

" At first, I felt," he used to say, " some pain " in seeing myself so completely confuted; but " I soon rejoiced in the success of truth; and " I scarcely could lament that I had been guilty " of errors, when I beheld the learning which " I had drawn forth for the confutation of " them." No literary triumph is worth such a sentiment of humble and ingenuous candour.

III. 3.

The Book of the Roman-Catholic Church.

WITHOUT the slightest pretension to the talents displayed by *Bossuet* and *Fénélon*, and with as little pretension to the edifying Gospel spirit exhibited by *Mabillon* and *Papebrooch*, the Reminiscent took up Doctor Southey's glove, and answered his attack, by " the Book of the Ro- " man-Catholic Church." He trusts that he has, invariably, observed the rule of moderation which he prescribed to himself.

The opponents of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church were so numerous as to entitle him to remark, in a subsequent publication, that " if a multitude of answers to a work were a " proof of its merit, 'The Book of the Roman " Catholic Church' had pretensions to be

"thought meritorious." As the controversy has interested the public mind and feelings in an unusual manner, the Reminiscent thinks the following brief mention of the works to which it has given rise, will be acceptable to his readers. The arguments and the language of the writers are now completely before the public: their judgment is the prize,

"And fair betide the victor!"

GRAY.

III. 4.

The Controversy on Dr. Southey's Book of the Church.

IT is much to be wished, that some gentleman would favour the public with a succinct literary history of the principal controversies between the English Catholics and Protestants, since the Reformation, and with something like what the French call a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of the principal publications to which they gave rise.

One of the first, was that between *Jewell* and *Harding*, on the Real Presence: it was quickly followed by that of *Stapleton* and *Horn*, on the Validity of English Ordinations; then *Sir Edward Coke* and *Father Persons* conflicted on

the Supremacy of the Pope*; and wars of words were waged between *Chillingworth* and *Knott*, *Laud* and *Fisher*, *Cressy* and *Stillingfleet*. The close of the reign of Charles II. and the whole reign of James II. witnessed the wars between the catholic *Gother* and his adversaries. These were succeeded by the skirmishes between *Trapp* and *Manning*, by the discussions between *Le*

* No writer perhaps has expressed, in fewer words, or with greater accuracy, the different natures of spiritual and temporal power, than Father Persons, in his Reply to Sir Edward Coke (p. 31). "As the temporal power, for "furnishing of his authority, hath power to punish tempo- "rally, when occasion is offered, and this in either goods, "body, or life; so have spiritual magistrates also, by Christ's "appointment, *ecclesiastical power*, not only to search, ex- "hort, instruct and direct, as has been said, but to punish "in like manner by spiritual censures, much more grievous "and dreadful *in respect to the life to come* than are the "forenamed punishments of the civil magistrates; which "censures are three in number, answering, after a certain "manner, to the former three of the temporal magistrate; "and these are, according to Catholic divinity, and canons of "the church, suspension, interdict, and excommunication."

Nor is there to be found "a fuller or nobler assertion of the right of man to civil and religious liberty, than the expression of Father Persons, (Letter of a Catholic touching the new oath of allegiance, sect. XX.)." "Neither "breathing nor the use of comfhon ayre, is more due unto "them, or common to all; than ought to be the libertie of "conscience to Christian men, whereby each one liveth to "God and to himself, and without which, he struggleth with "the torment of a continual lingering death."

Courayer and his answerers, on "The Validity "of English Ordinations;" by the controversial works of *Dr. Challoner*, and the disputes to which *Dr. Usher's Letters of a Real Freethinker* gave rise. Our times have seen the *Durham Controversy*, in which *Dr. Lingard* and *Dr. Phillpotts* first met in arms; those between *Dr. Sturges* and *Dr. Milner*; those between *Dr. Milner* and *Dr. Grier*; and that between *Dr. Milner* and *Dr. Ledwich*, on the religious antiquities of Ireland.

Our times have also seen the polemic works of *Bishop Hay*, *Dr. Baines*, and *Dr. Doyle*, and their answerers—and those of *the Bishop* of *Aire* and *Mr. Faber*.

III. 5.

The Book of the Church—and The Book of the Roman Catholic Church.

THE *present controversy was begun by Dr. Southey*, the poet laureat, perhaps the most voluminous writer of his time. Five or six epic poems, many histories, and a multitude of other works, shew the fertility of his genius. Much in them is excellent; and with a few exceptions, all are pleasing. His poem of Don Roderick, his life of John Wesley, and his history of the Brazils, will be read with pleasure

by posterity, and occasion inquiries for his other works. No work is more impatiently expected at this time, than the Sequel to his *History of the Peninsular War.*

He is unquestionably the father of the present controversy. We shall attempt to mention briefly the titles of all the works to which it has given rise.

"THE BOOK OF THE CHURCH," by DR. SOUTHEY, now in its second edition. This was the signal of the war.

"STRICTURES ON 'THE BOOK OF THE CHURCH,'" by MERLIN (the late Right Reverend Dr. Milner.)

"THE BOOK OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH," by Mr. CHARLES BUTLER;—now in its second edition.

To this, the following answers have been published:—

1. *A Letter on the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,* by Apostolicus.

2. *The Reformation, or the Papal System*; containing remarks on the two letters on that subject, in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church *.

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* The substance of this work first appeared in two Letters signed "LIBRA," in a Liverpool newspaper.

3. *Two Letters addressed to the Author of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,* by a lay member of the university of Oxford.

4. *Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism,* by the Rev. J. B. White, now in its second edition.

5. *A Letter to Charles Butler, esq. in Vindication of the English Protestants,* by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester;—now in its third edition.

To this the Reminiscent replied by *a Letter; addressed by him to his Lordship;*—now in its third edition.

6. *A Letter to Charles Butler, esq.* by the Rev. Henry Phillpotts;—now in its second edition.

7. *Letters to Charles Butler, esq.* upon his question, What has England gained by the Reformation?

8. *The Accusations of History against the Church of Rome,* by the Rev. George Townsend.

9. Bishop Jewell's Apology,—with a *preliminary Address to Charles Butler, esq.* by the Rev. Stephen Isaacson.

10. Archbishop Cranmer's Book on Transubstantiation; with a *Vindication of the Archbishop's Character,* against the allegations of

Dr. Lingard, Dr. Milner and Charles Butler, esq.—by the Rev. Henry Todd.

In reply to these ten attacks upon the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, the Reminiscent published,—

"His Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,"

He prefixed to it

"A Letter to Charles Blundell, Esq."

In the first lines of this letter, he intimates that "he had long hesitated on the plan, which "he ought to adopt in answering his critics;" that "to answer each, regularly and minutely, "would have made it necessary to write as "many books as there were answers;" That "his occupations and time of life

——— Quindecimum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum,

Horace.

"rendered this quite impossible;" That "he "therefore determined to write a full reply to "such one of his adversaries, as had made "*most* objections to his work, and urged them "*most strongly*; to reply to such other of the "objections, as should seem to him to call for

" particular notice, and to leave the rest for " future discussion."

The first part of this plan, he carried into execution, by " *the Letters to the Rev. George* " *Townsend*, which fill the greatest part of his " *Vindication.*" The second, he executed by his *Letter to Mr. Blundell.* He inserted in it, at full length, the titles of all the Answers, to " the Book of the Roman Catholic Church," and the names of their several publishers. This, he apprehends, was the best method of making them generally known, and bringing the controversy fairly before the public. He also occasionally remarks, in his Letter to Mr. Blundell, on some passages in the other adversary works. He dwells most on those of Dr. Phillpotts, Mr. Blanco White, and Mr. Todd. He concludes the letter, by remarking that " Dr. " Phillpotts had closed one of his letters to " him by wishing him *good night.*" " To you," says Mr. Butler, addressing himself to Mr. Blundell, " to Dr. Phillpotts, to all my other " Critics I present the same wish, and permit " me to do it in the words of the priest at " Complin,

" *Noctem quietam et finem perfectum,*
" *Concèdat nobis Dominus omnipotens!*"

With these words, he closes his letter to Mr. Blundell.

In his *letters to Mr. Townsend*, he replies successively to each of that gentleman's eighteen letters. He transcribes from each, Mr. Townsend's accusations in his own words; his replies to them, are direct and explicit. He prefixed to his letters, a table of contents, in which each accusation of Mr. Townsend and each answer to it, are briefly stated.

To this Vindication, *some replies have been published.*

12.—*A supplementary Letter to Charles Butler, esq.* in reply to his Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, point by point, throughout;—by the Reverend George Townsend.

13.—*A supplemental Letter to Charles Butler, esq.*—by the Rev. Henry Phillpotts.

14.—*A Letter to Charles Butler, esq.* on his Notice of "the Practical and Internal Evidence "against Catholicism." By the Rev. J. B. White, of the University of Oxford.

15.—Dr. Southey's Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

16.—A second edition of Mr. Todd's Vindi-

cation*. To which are added, *Notices by Mr. Todd, of Dr. Lingard, Dr. Milner, and Mr. Butler's Remarks* on the first edition.

The Supplemental Letters of Dr. Phillpotts and Mr. Townsend, and Dr. Southey's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, the Reminiscent has noticed in the Second Edition of his Vindication of the Book of the Roman-Catholic Church: He inserted in it "*A second Letter to Mr. Blundell.*"

It is almost wholly employed in repelling Mr. Todd's crimination of what is said in "the Book "of the Roman Catholic Church", respecting the celebrated Dr. Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Each of these criminations, the Reminiscent states successively in Mr. Todd's own words, and directly replies to it.

It should be added, that "the Book of the Roman Catholic Church" has been a subject of criticism, 1. in the *British Critic*. 2. *British Review*. 3. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. 4. *The Christian Observer*. 5. *The Quarterly Review*. 6. *The Quarterly Theological Review*. 7. *The Westminster Review*; and probably in other journals which he has not seen.

* Ant. N° 10.

The Reminiscent concludes his second letter to Mr. Blundell, in these words:—

"Until Dr. Southey shall again force me "into the field, by his promised second part "of the *Vindiciæ*, I retire from the controversy. "I owed it to my Catholic brethren to vindi- "cate them against the charges brought against "them, in Dr. Southey's Book of the Church. "I feel that the time I have spent in it, was "taken from pleasanter pursuits; but, as this "sacrifice was due from me, to my Roman- "Catholic brethren, I don't regret it."

"With Dr. Southey, and all my other "adversaries, I trust I have broken a fair "and honourable lance; and that I have "shewn to ALL, that respect, which one chris- "tian gentleman should always shew to an- "other."

"*No person ever engaged in a conflict of* "*words with greater reluctance* than the Remi- "niscent. *Domum revertor mimus*, could not "have been said by *Liberius* with greater regret, "when he returned from the scenic boards upon "which he had been forced by Julius Cæsar, "than *Domum revertor* πολεμικος, (a polemic), "has been said by the Reminiscent, while he "paced his steps from Lincoln's-Inn to his

" home, and reflected that he was there to give
" the bits and scraps of time which he had
" stolen from his professional duties, not to
" the *Sisters of the Sacred Well*, but to the most
" unpleasing of all employments, theological
" controversy. For these feelings, ALL who
" know the Reminiscent, will, he is most sure,
" give him credit."

Excepting the two publications mentioned in the preceding list, the Reminiscent has not, either directly or indirectly, been art or part in any thing that has been written, or spoken or done, respecting "the Book of the Church;" or respecting the answers to either of his own publications, or respecting the answerers of those answers. Whatever harsh or unmannerly word or proceeding respecting them has been said, or written, or used,—has been, and is hereby unequivocally condemned by the Reminiscent. *Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis, eget.*

V.

1. MR. PITT.—2. MR. FOX.—3. MR. SHERIDAN.

IT has been a great satisfaction to the Reminiscent, that nothing in the accounts of these great men, which have been published since the appearance of his work, contains any contradic-

tion of what he has there said of them; and that, in some instances, they have confirmed it.

V. 1.

MR. PITT.

THE *Bishop of Lincoln's Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Pitt* will always be read with pleasure and interest. The promised continuation of them will, until we shall receive it, be expected with impatience.

The first event of importance which the Memoirs describe,—and they describe it well,—is the conflict in Parliament respecting the abandonment of the American war. The result of the discussion was the dissolution of Lord North's administration. At the end of November 1781, the House of Commons voted an address to his Majesty, by which the members pledged themselves to support the prosecution of the war; in the beginning of the following March, they pronounced every man an enemy of his king and country, who should recommend, or in any respect promote its continuance!

Ten years after this time, a change of opinion as palpable, and nearly as sudden, took place in the Irish House of Commons. On the 11th of February 1792, Mr. O'Hara tendered a Catholic petition to that House: it was seconded by

Mr. Denis Brown; and was rejected with marked indignity, by a majority of 208 votes to 23. On the following January, Mr. Secretary Hobart presented a similar petition for the relief of the Catholics;—at the end of a few weeks, a bill for their relief passed both Houses, with scarcely a dissenting voice, and received the Royal assent.

The Bishop of Winchester briefly mentions, in his Memoirs, Mr. Pitt's tour to France in September 1783. During his stay in that country, he principally resided at Paris, and Rheims. Great attention was shewn him by the archbishop of the latter city: he met, at the prelate's palace, the celebrated *Talleyrand Perégord.* When this distinguished personage was in England, he mentioned this circumstance to a friend of the Reminiscent; and, what many will be surprized to hear, he described Mr. Pitt as *un grand adulateur.* Talleyrand was asked, if he foresaw, at that time, Mr. Pitt's future eminence. "Mais," he replied, "nous le trouvions tres "amiable: et d'ailleurs, son pere nous avoit "foudroyé."

Of the other parts of the Bishop's work, we shall say nothing, except to notice that, in his account of the bill, which was passed for the relief of the Catholics in 1791, he does not

render justice to Mr. Pitt. From the first, Mr. Pitt declared himself explicitly in favour of the measure. In order to attract the attention of the public mind to it, and to prevent the effect of prejudice against it, he devised the plan of obtaining the opinions of the foreign universities upon the three points submitted to them. When the opinions were obtained, he readily declared that they satisfied him. An unfortunate division having taken place among the Roman Catholics, Mr. Pitt, so far from availing himself of it to impede, or even retard the success of the bill, generously exerted himself to compose the difference; he watched over the bill during its passage through the House, with the greatest assiduity: sometimes by energy, sometimes by conciliation, he removed the obstacles which opposed it, and he unfeignedly participated in the joy of the Catholics, at its ultimate success. For this, they were indebted to none more than to him. The Catholic desires nothing more, than that all who glory in his name, should inherit his principles, and imitate his conduct in their regard.

In 1793, an Act was passed for the relief of the Irish Catholics. It was principally owing to the exertions of the Irish delegates, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Edward Byrne, Mr. John Keogh,

and two other gentlemen, who had been appointed to negociate with Mr. Pitt. They were directed chiefly to insist upon five objects:— the elective franchise, the admission of Catholics to grand juries, to county magistracies, to high shrievalties, and to the bar. Mr. Keogh was the soul of the delegation: he possessed a complete knowledge of the subject, uncommon strength of understanding, firmness of mind, and a solemn imposing manner, with an appearance of great humility. These obtained for him an ascendancy over almost every person with whom he conversed. On one occasion, he was introduced to the late Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. That eminent statesman was surrounded by several persons of distinction, and received the delegates with great good humour. A long conference ensued, the result of it was unfavourable to the mission of Mr. Keogh. After a short silence, Mr. Keogh advanced towards Mr. Dundas, and, with great respect, and a very obsequious, but very solemn look, mentioned to him, that "there was one thing which "it was essential for Mr. Dundas to know, but "of which he had not the slightest conception." He remarked, "that it was very extraordinary that a person of Mr. Dundas's "high situation, and one of his own humble

" lot,"—(he was a tradesman in Dublin,)—
" should be in the same room: yet, since it had
" so happened, and probably would not happen
" again, he wished to avail himself of the op-
" portunity of making the important disclosure:
" but could not think of doing it without Mr.
" Dundas's express permission, and express pro-
" mise not to be offended." Mr. Dundas gave him the permission and promise: still, Mr. Keogh was all humility and apology, and Mr. Dundas all condescension. After these had continued for some time, and the expectation of every person present was wound up to its highest pitch, Mr. Keogh approached Mr. Dundas in a very humble attitude, and said,—"Since you
" give me this permission, and your liberal pro-
" mise not to be offended, I beg leave to repeat
" that there is one thing which you ought to
" know, but which you don't suspect:—You,
" Mr. Dundas, know nothing of Ireland." Mr. Dundas, as may be supposed, was greatly surprized; but with perfect good humour told Mr. Keogh that "he believed this was not the case:
" it was true, that he never had been in Ireland,
" but he had conversed with many Irishmen.
" I have drunk," he said, " many a good bottle
" of wine with Lord Hillsborough, Lord Clare,
" and the Beresfords,"—" Yes, Sir," said Mr.

Keogh, "I believe you have; and that you "drank many a good bottle of wine with them, "before you went to war with America."

V. 2.

MR. FOX.

THE public is still in total want of a good account of the life of this great man. Considering the space which he filled in the national history of our times, the number of illustrious persons who fought under his banner, their talents, and the warm attachment both to his principles and his memory which they still profess, it appears surprising that he has yet had no adequate biographer.

Mr. Fox thought that true genuine principles of civil and religious liberty were not very common. "You will not," he once said to the Reminiscent, "meet with real friends of free-"dom as frequently as you seem to expect; "but you may always depend on Fitzwilliam "and Petty."

Mr. Fox's own principles of civil and religious liberty were of the most enlarged kind.

On one occasion, he desired the Reminiscent to attend him, for the purpose of conferring, as he condescended to say, on Catholic emancipation. He asked the Reminiscent, "What he

" thought was the best ground on which it " could be advocated?" The Reminiscent suggested it to be, that "it is both unjust and " detrimental to the state, to deprive any por- " tion of its subjects of their civil rights on " account of their religious principles, if these " are not inconsistent with moral or civil duty." " No, sir!" Mr. Fox said, with great animation, " that is not the best ground; the best ground, " and the only ground to be defended in all " points is, that *action* not *principle* is the object " of law and legislation; with a person's prin- " ciples no government has any right to inter- " fere."—" Am I then to understand," said the Reminiscent, wishing to bring the matter at once to issue, by supposing an extreme case,—" that, " in 1713, when the houses of Brunswick and " Stuart were equally balanced, a person pub- " lishing a book, in which he attempted to prove " that the house of Hanover *unlawfully* pos- " sessed the British throne, and that all who " obeyed the reigning prince, were *morally* " criminal, ought not to be punished by law?" —" Government," said Mr. Fox, " should an- " swer the book, but should not set its offi- " cers upon its author."—" No," he continued with great energy, and rising from his seat, " the more I think of the subject, the more I am

" convinced of the truth of my position : *action* " not *principle* is the true object of govern- " ment." In his excellent speech for the repeal of the test, Mr. Fox adopted this doctrine in its fullest extent; and enforced and illustrated it with an admirable union of argument and eloquence.

On a further occasion, the Reminiscent took the liberty,—he hopes his readers will believe he did it with the utmost respect,—to renew the conversation. "Does not your doctrine," he said to Mr. Fox, " turn on the much agitated ques- " tion of Matter and Spirit? If you *impel* " the hand of a man, who holds in it a knife, " into the side of another, and the knife enters " it and kills him, you are guilty of murder; " if you write a book, which *induces* a man to " thrust a knife into the side of another, are you " not equally guilty?"—" You are," replied Mr. Fox; " but the jury must find,—first, that " the act was done;—2dly, that your book was " written with an intention of inducing the per- " son to do it;—and, 3dly, that he did the act " in consequence of your book."

So far as civil and religious liberty are involved in the Catholic question, the Reminiscent has found the truest lovers of both. On one occasion, he went to *Mr. Whitbread*, to solicit

his attendance on the Catholic Relief Bill, then in the House of Commons. "You may always," said Mr. Whitbread, "depend on me: if Par-"liament should give you a limited relief, I "shall rejoice that they give you something; "if they should grant it without limitation, I "shall rejoice that they give you all."

From Mr. Whitbread, the Reminiscent went, with the same request, to *Mr. Windham*. "Give "yourself no trouble," said that amiable and informed statesman, "to call upon me on these "occasions; I shall always be sure to be at "my post."

In 1807, Lord Grey, Lord Holland, Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Whitbread, shewed the warmest and most uncompromising attachment to the Catholic cause. All repeatedly expressed to the Reminiscent, their wish, that "at that critical time, the "Catholics would not provoke a parliamentary "discussion of the question:" all also declared explicitly, that if, "contrary to their recom-"mendation, the Catholics should bring it for-"ward, they would give it their cordial co-"operation." A conduct more honourable to themselves, or more kind towards the Catholics, they could not have adopted. That, in advocating the cause of the Catholics, they lost

their official situations, no Catholic should ever forget.

The presenting of the Catholic petition to the House of Commons in 1806, was one of the last services which Mr. Wyndham rendered to the Catholic cause. A few hours before he died, he wrote to the Secretary of the British Catholic Board, a letter, in which he expressed a warm wish for the success of the measure; but intimated, in terms not then understood, but soon too clear, that he feared he should never again have the pleasure of advocating it.

From the patronage of such men any cause must derive honour. The writer therefore has singular pleasure in transcribing, for the perusal of the reader, the speech made by Mr. Wyndham, when he presented a former Catholic petition.

" I have a petition to present, into the me-
" rits of which it is not now my intention to go:
" it respects a body of people who labour under
" oppressions of peculiar severity; I mean the
" Roman Catholics of England.

" I admit the right of States to impose reli-
" gious restrictions upon the people; but that
" right should be only exercised when called
" for by an imperious and over-ruling neces-
" sity. It is obvious no such necessity exists

" for the restrictions upon the Roman Catholics " of England, as they ask for nothing, but that " which both Church and State must deem it " necessary to grant, and which justice must " confirm. Who can pretend to have any fear of " the Roman Catholics, or to dread a disclosure " of their power, by which their virtues must " also be revealed?

" I will assert then, if their power prove " considerable, their inclinations are in a pro- " portionate degree favourable to the interests " of the country; if their character be un- " known, if they be obscure, it is because they " are deemed unworthy of our consideration, " and are branded with our neglect. When I " speak of their obscurity, I do not mean that " they are destitute of hereditary virtues and " hereditary dignity; that they are not a part " of that class, which ought to be denominated " '*ultimi Romanorum.*' I cannot contemplate " a more noble and affecting spectacle, than an " ancient Roman Catholic gentleman, in the " midst of his people, exercising the virtues of " beneficence, humanity, and hospitality. If " they are obscure, it is because they are pro- " scribed as aliens to the State; because they " are shut out from this assembly, where many " of those who are far less worthy, are allowed

" to sit. Have they ever tried those vile arts, " which are exercised so successfully by so " many, to creep into pension and place? Have " they ever attempted to obtain their rights " either by clamour or by servility? On the con- " trary, their conduct has proved that no other " body is more justly entitled to respect and " admiration *.

" I wish the petition to lie upon the table, " that the contents may sink deep into the " minds of this House, and I hope that the " consideration will bring a final success to the " cause of virtue and truth. It is impossible " that we can for ever bear the sight of our own " injustice. Rectitude must ultimately prevail, " and I presume that the object of this petition " will be granted without a struggle."

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* When Mr. Burke's celebrated " Address to the Electors " of Bristol," which contains an eloquent encomium of the Catholics, was published, the writer recollects that his father,—it is allowable to mention any person now no more, who, when living, was venerated by all who knew him,— when he came to that passage in the address, burst into tears, and exclaimed, " who would not be a Catholic!"—" What," said Mr. John Hawkins, who a few days after passed into the Protestant pale, " because Mr. Burke says a fine thing " of them!"—" No," replied the gentleman we have mentioned, " but because Catholics feel that these fine things may " be said of them with justice."

V. 3.

Mr. Sheridan.

It gives the Reminiscent great pleasure to perceive, that Mr. Moore's interesting biography of Mr. Sheridan, has confirmed the account given of the eloquence of that extraordinary man in the preceding volume of Reminiscences. His public life may be divided into four stages, successively commencing with, his attracting the notice of the public by the *Duenna*; —his coming into Parliament;—the part which he took during the king's first malady;—and his conduct in the settlement of the Regency at the close of the late reign.

The natural turn of Mr. Sheridan's mind, led him rather to covet eminence, as a monarch's favourite, or as one pre-eminently shining in a brilliant court, than in fulminating a popular assembly, and wielding the democratic*. But his supreme ambition was, to be thought the best possible manager of a theatre. When fortune placed Lord Erskine at the English bar, she perhaps fixed him in the only station in which he could elevate himself to fame and fortune: when she placed Mr. Sheridan in the management of a theatre, she fixed him in a situation which delighted him, but for the filling of

* Milton.

which with honour or advantage, he was totally unqualified. The Reminiscent has often seen him, in moments of better recollection, when unfortunately the *jucundissima recordatio vitæ bene actæ* was wanting to him: his regret in those hours was, not at his failure of success in his political career, but at his not having devoted himself to the Muses. He used to say that he was designed for poetry; for the *forté epos*. But never was a man less qualified for any literary exertion, which required grandeur or simplicity.

> " Mark, how the dread *Panthéon* stands!
> " Amid the domes of modern hands,
> " Amid the idle toils of state;
> " How simply, how severely great!"
>
> AKENSIDE.

No compositions are less formed than those of Mr. Sheridan, to be compared with the character of the Panthéon: but some " domes of " modern hands, some idle toils of state," are exquisitely pretty and brilliant. With the best of these, some compositions of Mr. Sheridan may be justly thought to bear an analogy. The Reminiscent once read to Mr. Sheridan the finest specimen of his poetry, his *Epilogue to Semiramis*. " O! why did I not," he exclaimed, " uniformly " addict myself to poetry; for *that* I was de- " signed!". " But then," said the Reminiscent, " would you have been the admiration

" of the senate? Would London have emptied
" itself to hear your phillippic on Mr. Hastings?
" Would you have been the intimate of Mr.
" Fox? Would you have been received, as
" doing honor to it, at Devonshire-house?"—
" What," he replied, " has all this done for
" me? What am I the better for the admira-
" tion of the senate, for Mr. Fox, for Devon-
" shire-house? I have thrown myself away.
" But you shall see to-morrow."

" To-morrow and to-morrow,"
SHAKESPEAR.

his friend naturally replied.

It was a general subject of wonder, that, as he had shewn how well he could write for the stage, he should write so little. " The reason " is," said Mr. Kelly, with exquisite felicity, " that Mr. Sheridan is afraid of the author of " the School for Scandal."

Mr. Sheridan's bon mots were not numerous; but when he was in good humour, the subject pleased him, and he liked his company, he sometimes displayed a kind of serious and elegant playfulness, not apparently rising to wit, but unobservedly saturated with it, which was unspeakably pleasing. Every thing he then said or did, was what delights Englishmen so much, and what they understand so well—in the style and manner of a perfect gentleman.

Occasionally, however, he had brilliant sallies. On one occasion he and the late Mr. Sheldon, of Weston in Warwickshire, supped with the Reminiscent. Mr. Sheldon was born of Catholic parents, and brought up a Catholic; he embraced the Protestant religion, and sate in two parliaments. The Catholic question being mentioned, Mr. Sheridan, supposing Mr. Sheldon to be a Catholic, told him, "he was quite "disgusted at the pitiful, lowly manner in which "Catholics brought forward their case: Why "should not you, Mr. Sheldon, walk into our "house, and say,—'Here am I, Sheldon of "Weston, entitled by birth and fortune to be "among you: but, because I am a Catholic, "you shut your door against me.'" "I beg "your pardon," said Mr. Sheldon, interrupting him, "I thought it the duty of a subject to be "of the religion of his country; and therefore—" "You quitted," said Mr. Sheridan, interrupting him, "the errors of popery, and became a "member of a church which you know to be "free from error? I am glad of it; you do us "great honour." The subject then changed; but it was evident that Mr. Sheldon did not sit quite easy. At length, the third of the morning hours arrived; Mr. Sheldon took his watch from his pocket, and holding it forth to Mr. Sheri-

dan, " See," he said to him, " what the hour " is : you know our host is a very early riser." " Damn your *apostate watch!*" exclaimed Mr. Sheridan; " put it into your Protestant fob."

It has not, I think, been mentioned by any of his biographers; but the fact certainly is, that Mr. Sheridan was very superstitious, a believer in dreams and omens. One sentiment of true religion the Reminiscent has often heard him express, with evident satisfaction; that in all his writings, and even in his freest moments, a single irreligious opinion or word had never escaped him.

Frequently, he instantaneously disarmed those who approached him with the extreme of savageness, and a determined resolution to insult him. He had purchased an estate, at Surrey, of Sir William Geary, and neglected to pay for it. Sir William mentioned this circumstance to the Reminiscent; and the English language has not an expression of abuse or opprobrium, which Sir William did not apply to Sheridan. He then marched off, in a passion; but had not walked ten paces, before he met Mr. Sheridan. The Reminiscent expected as furious an onset as " if two planets should rush to combat*;" but

* Milton's Paradise Lost, VI. 310.

nothing like this took place. In ten minutes Sir William returned, exclaiming, " Mr. Sheri-
" dan is the finest fellow I ever met with; I will
" teaze him no more for money."

Lord Derby once applied, in the Green Room, to Mr. Sheridan, with much dignity, for the arrears of Lady Derby's salary, and vowed he would not stir from the room till it was paid. " My dear Lord," said Mr. Sheridan, " this is
" too bad; you have taken from us the brightest
" jewel in the world; and you now quarrel with
" us for a little dust she has left behind her."

Politics was not a favourite subject with Mr. Sheridan. Though he always voted for Catholic emancipation, it was observed that, when the question was before the House, he did not speak for it: and that, even in common conversation, he expressed himself with much less feeling than might have been expected. Some, from whom a contrary conduct was expected, embraced Mr. Perceval's anti-catholic system; others, among whom was Mr. Sheridan, avoided declaring against it. " But you may be as-
" sured," Mr. Sheridan said to an Irish Catholic gentleman of distinction, " that though we
" don't shew it, our hearts are with you." " And

"you also," replied the gentleman of Ireland, "may be equally well assured, that if the French "should land in Ireland, though we should not "join you, our hearts will be with you."

It was evident to all, who lived with Mr. Sheridan, that, a *jalousie d'amitié* between him and Mr. Burke, subsisted long before the debates during the late King's first malady,—when, for the first time, it was *generally* perceived. It was suspected that Mr. Sheridan's favouritism at Carlton House, was not pleasing either to Mr. Burke, or to Mr. Burke's great friend. It is clear that Mr. Fox was, for some time before his decease, completely estranged from him.

From this time, Mr. Sheridan appeared a faded man. His pecuniary embarrassments thickened upon him; his usual expedients for removing them began to fail him, and in all places, and in all hours, he was too soon and too completely overpowered by the conqueror of *Ariadne*. Cardinal de Retz relates in his memoirs, that, during the troubles at Paris, in consequence of the war of the Fronde, *Henrietta, the grand-daughter of Henry IV. of France*, and the wife of our Charles I., who, with her children, had fled from England, and then resided in that city, was reduced to such a state of misery,

that, in a severe January, she was without wood, or coals, or money to procure them; and that her daughter Henrietta Maria, afterwards the wife of the Duke of Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIV, was obliged to remain in bed to preserve herself from the cold.

At times, Mr. Sheridan's abode was in an equal state of want.

Mr. Sheridan's affectionate and respectful regard for the memory of his first wife was great, and pleasingly discovered itself on numerous occasions. Notwithstanding the many unpleasant scenes in his latter life, it was evident to all, who saw them, that Mr. Sheridan and his second wife were warmly attached to each other. Nothing could be more edifying or more elegant, than the behaviour of Mr. Sheridan and,—the hare with many friends,—his son by his first wife, to each other.

Reflections have been cast on some friends of Mr. Sheridan, for their alleged insensibility to his distresses. But his previous usage of them should be taken into account. None, but those, who witnessed it, can conceive, the repeated instances of unfeeling and contumelious disregard, which he shewed them, by his total want of punctuality in his engagements, and his heedless-

ness of the inconveniences and losses, which it occasioned them. One of the most remarkable of these provoking and distressing scenes was exhibited by him, in the last election, which took place, in his life-time, for the town of Stafford. The late Mr. Edward Jerningham, whose family had a strong interest with the electors, exerted himself to the utmost, as did the most illustrious person in the kingdom, to rouse Mr. Sheridan to proper activity on an occasion, which evidently was of so much importance to him; and on which his liberty and independance seemed to depend.

All was vain:—he did not leave London, till it was almost impossible he should reach Stafford, in time to make an effective canvass. When he reached it, he loitered inactive at the inn, the mob all the while calling clamourously for him. The consequence was, that he lost his election. But such was the fascination of his manner, and such the attraction of his name, that, before he left the town, the electors seemed to be in despair that they had not voted for him, and a large proportion of them would escort him out of the town. All that has been said of the zeal displayed by an illustrious person, for Mr. Sheridan's success, on this oc-

own accord, constraint would be used to expel him. But he could not be induced to believe that France would have recourse to these extremities: "French monarchs," he said, "have "often boasted that France was the refuge of "unfortunate princes. This Lewis XIV. himself "said to James II. Can the great-grandson of "Lewis say the contrary to the grandson of "James." But the court of Versailles resolved upon the measure. It was entrusted to the Duke de Biron, the colonel of the *regiment des Gardes Françoises*. He charged M. de Vaudreuil, the major of the guards, with the execution of it. Both the duke and the major were enjoined to shew, in the conduct of it, the utmost respect and attention to the unfortunate prince. It was known that he always carried pistols; and that he had both publicly and confidentially intimated that, "if any violence should be offered "to his person, he would make away with him-"self." The French monarch personally apprised the duke and major of these facts, and charged them with the consequences. The opera was chosen, which was thought very strange, for the scene of the exploit. M. de Vaudreuil, accompanied by some gardes, entered the box in which the prince was; produced to him the royal order, searched his cloaths, seized

his pistols, and disarmed him of his sword. He was carried to the castle of Vinçennes; he remained in it three days, and was hurried from it to the *Pont de Beauvoisin.*—Standing upon it, he bade an eternal adieu to inhospitable France. Great indignation was expressed by the French at the conduct of their monarch.

"*Il est Roi, dans les fers,—qu'êtes vous sur le trône,*" was one of many verses composed on this occasion. All remarked that much publicity of the indignity shewn to the prince, might have been spared.

He never recovered from the shock it gave him. One of his attendants, when the event took place, mentioned to the Reminiscent, that, from this time, his spirit was broken; that he was thoroughly altered; and that, in evident bitterness of mind, he frequently exclaimed, "My sword was taken from me; my person "insulted; I am a degraded man."

Still he had some partisans both among Catholics and Protestants in England. The Memoirs of the late Doctor King shew, that, till the year 1760, a considerable portion of jacobinism remained in some respectable English and Scottish families; but that, about this time, a final separation took place between the prince and them.

VI. 1.

Parties in England from the Time of the Accession of the House of Hanover, till the Commencement of Mr. Burke's public Life.

THE Brunswick dynasty found the nation divided into three parties,—the Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites.

In their principles, but not always in their measures, the Whigs had the merit of consistency; they adhered to the constitution, as it was settled by the Bill of Rights; and to the Established Church, as an essential part of that settlement. The Tories were more attached to the church than the constitution: they thought the alteration of the dynasty unjustifiable; they admitted the right of the exiled prince to the British crown, and their political tenets were very favourable to the extension of the royal prerogative. The Jacobites were less attached either to the church or the constitution than the Tories: these, if the exiled family had been restored, would have required securities for the preservation of the church establishment; but the Jacobites would have thought such a requisition sacrilegious.

Many of the nobility and gentry, a large proportion of the clergy,—and, at the head of these,

the university of Oxford,—might be ranked among the Tories or Jacobites: but the chief nobility and gentry, almost all the corporations, and the whole of the commercial and monied interests, were Whigs: these also, as assertors of religious liberty, were favoured by the dissenters; and their liberal principles, both on secular and ecclesiastical subjects, recommended them to the latitudinarian divines,—a large and always increasing portion of the clergy.

It is not a little remarkable that, throughout this contest, the cause of liberty was sometimes essentially served by the Tories, and injured by the Whigs. A regular opposition to government can only be successfully made by professing liberal principles, and appealing, in the language of them, to the great body of the people. To this, *invitâ Minervâ*, the Tories were frequently driven. The Whigs, never being favourites of the people, were obliged, for securing majorities in parliament, to have recourse to corruption. To keep the populace quiet, they found it necessary to invest the magistrates with unconstitutional powers; and, to secure the nation against foreign enterprises, they were compelled to maintain a standing army. All these measures, speaking theoretically, were unconstitutional; the Tories and

Jacobites frequently spoke and wrote against them in the true language of the constitution.

After alternate successes and defeats, the Whigs completely triumphed. The year 1720, when the Convocation was prorogued, never more to assemble, may be assigned for the æra of their final victory. An opposition to them was raised, under the name of "the Country "Party." It consisted of discontented Whigs, of Tories, and of Jacobites. At the head of the Whigs in power was Sir Robert Walpole; the Whigs out of power were led by Mr. Pulteney, the Tories by Sir William Wyndham, the Jacobites by Mr. Shippen. For such discordant sectaries as the three last, it must have been difficult to form a political creed, which all would sign. This was, however, atchieved by Lord Bolingbroke; and, under his direction and councils, the heterogeneous party acted with apparent unanimity till the memorable victory over Sir Robert Walpole.

Insensibly the Jacobites left the field. It was warmly disputed by the Whigs and Tories, or the court and country parties: the former professed themselves friends of the rights and liberties of the people; the latter professed, though in a more guarded manner, to favour the royal prerogative. It is observable, that Erasmus Lewis, in a letter to Swift, published

in Hawkesworth's edition of the dean's correspondence, predicted this new division of parties. It has subsisted till our times; but a party, equally hostile to each, has now sprung up, and is both numerous and powerful.

Various new arrangements or coalitions followed the discomfiture of Sir Robert Walpole. Their conflicts were numerous and inglorious. Few æras in the history of England can be mentioned, in which there has been less wisdom in her councils, or less energy in her measures, than in the years which intervened between the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pitt's splendid administration.

But during this period, the voice of the people was once distinctly heard. It forced Pulteney, against the wishes of the monarch, into the cabinet. His apostacy paralyzed the public feeling; and it remained ignoble and inert, till Mr. Pitt called it into activity. We now approach the dawn of Mr. Burke's public life.

VI. 2.

Mr. Burke,—till his entry into public Life.

THE account which Mr. Gibbon gives of his childhood and early youth, is very pleasing. Of this part of Mr. Burke's life, Mr. Prior, the latest and best biographer of Mr. Burke, relates

little that is interesting, except some incidents which indicated great good humour and singleness of heart. Something of his future antipathy to overweening popularity, may be thought discernible in the lampoons which he published during his residence in Trinity College, Dublin, against Doctor Lucas, and Henry Brooks, the author of "*Gustavus Vasa*," a tragedy of little merit, and of "*The Fool of Quality*," a novel of a very singular nature, but which frequently draws tears from its readers. Both these gentlemen aimed at popularity: Mr. Burke's attacks upon them may be thought to confirm the opinion of those who consider that Mr. Burke was by nature aristocratic, and was thrown by accident into, what he himself described—"the cold "clime of opposition."

Nor do his biographers give us much information of his early studies: an account of them by himself would have been invaluable. They tell us, that Demosthenes was his favourite orator: may it not be suspected that he was much more pleased with "the splendid conflagration "of Tully," as it was described by Mr. Grattan? That he preferred Virgil to Homer, is well known. The Reminiscent heard him say, while he held in his hand a ragged Delphin Virgil, that "it was a book he always had within his

" reach." But he was thoroughly aware of the sublimity of Homer, and its distinctive nature. Writing to Barry, the painter, he says, " When " Claudian describes a giant with a mountain on " his shoulders, with its river running down his " back; there is nothing sublime in it, for there is " no great expression, but merely brute strength. " But when Homer describes Achilles advanc- " ing to the walls of Troy, clad in celestial ar- " mour, like the autumnal star, that brings fevers, " plagues, and death: we see all the terrible " qualities of the hero, rendered still more ter- " rible, by being contrasted with the venerable " figure of Priam, standing upon the walls of " Troy, and tearing his white hair at the sight " of the approaching danger. This is the true " sublime. Any madman can describe a giant " striding from London to York, or a ghost " stepping from mountain to mountain; but it " requires genius, and genius experienced in " the ways of men, to draw a finished charac- " ter, with all the excellencies and excesses, " the virtues and infirmities of a great and ex- " alted mind, so that by turns we admire the " hero and sympathize with the man—exult and " triumph at his valour and generosity, shudder " at his rage, and pity his distress. This is the " Achilles of Homer; a character every where

" to be seen in miniature, which the poet drew " from nature, then touched and embellished " according to his own exalted ideas." Is there in Longinus a finer criticism upon Homer? a finer general criticism?

The poetry of Mr. Burke is indifferent: so are the few specimens which we have of the poetry of Bossuet. Does not this shew that the space between oratory and poetry is greater than is generally supposed? Is not the poetry of Cicero undervalued? his description of the eagle's seizing the serpent and tearing him in the air to pieces is very fine, and is excellently translated into French.

Sic Jovis altisoni subito pennata satelles,
Arboris e trunco, serpentis saucia morsu;
Ipsa feris subigit transfigens unguibus anguem
Semianimum, et variâ graviter cervice micantem.
Quem se interquentem laniens rostroque cruentans,
Abjicit efflantem, et laceratum effundit in undas,
Seque obitu à solis nitidos convertit ad ortus.

CICERO.

Fragment of his Poem on Marius.

Tel on voit cet oiseau, qui porte le tonnerre,
Blessé par un serpent elançé de la terre;
Il s'envole, il entraine au sejour azuré
L'ennemi tortueux, dont il est entouré.
Le sang tombe des airs. Il déchire, il dévore
Le reptile acharné qui le combat encore;
Il le perçe, il le tient sous ses ongles vainquers,
Par çent coups redoublés il venge ses douleurs.

Le monstre en expirant se debat, se replie;
Il exhale en poison le reste de sa vie;
Et l'aigle tout sanglant, fier et victorieux,
Le rejette en fureur et plane au haut des cieux.

VOLTAIRE.

Both the original and translation are fine: is not the former, though not in the strains of Virgil, the best executed?

Mr. Prior informs us that Mr. Burke was particularly fond of Horace, Lucretius, and Virgil. The Reminiscent was once present at a literary conversation in which Ugo Fosculo and Sir Henry Englefield contended, against the Bishop of Norwich and him, that Horace's Odes were greatly overrated. Sometime afterwards he met with the master of a free school, acknowledged to be one of the most accomplished Latin scholars in England, who maintained the same opinion. He said that he never was tired, while he taught his scholars, Cicero, Virgil, or the Epistles or Satyrs of Horace; but that he was soon tired of explaining the Odes of Horace to them. This put the Reminiscent on a regular perusal of them: he accomplished it in the years 1820 and 1821. In this perusal they answered the high opinion which he had ever entertained of them; but he is fully sensible that he is not entitled to a voice in classic criticism:—perhaps Horace introduces too often the comic into his sublime and serious strains.

The letter published by Mr. Prior, in which Mr. Burke describes his first impressions of England and London, is interesting. The passage—"The buildings in London are very fine: "it may be called the sink of vice; but its "hospitals and charitable institutions, whose "turrets pierce the skies, like so many elec- "trical conductors, avert the wrath of Heaven," is much admired: but, would it not have been better without the "conductors?"

In another place, speaking of Westminster Abbey, he says:—"I would rather sleep in the "southern corner of a little country church- "yard, than in the tomb of the Capulets. I "should like, however, that my dust should "mingle with kindred dust. The good old "expression, 'Family burying ground,' has "something pleasing in it, at least to me." This passage is excellent: it accords with the feelings of every bosom. Alluding perhaps to this period of his life, Mr. Burke once mentioned to the Reminiscent, that, at one time, for want of a distinct object, to which he might direct his studies, his mind became perfectly inactive, and reading was an unpleasant exertion to him. He accounted for it by supposing, that, after the first years of youth are past, the mind requires more substantial food than mere

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reading; so that, to call forth literary application, it is necessary to superadd the stimulus of an ardent wish to attain a particular object, to the attainment of which, literary exertion will conduce, and therefore pleases. He observed, that, for the want of such an object, the generality of those who have distinguished themselves in their youthful studies, fall into an idle desultory reading, which ends in nothing.

Mr. Gibbon applies this remark to female readers:—"Except some professed scholars, "I," (he says, in a letter to Lord Sheffield), "have often observed that women, in general, "read much more than men; but, for want of "a plan, a method, a fixed object, their read-"ing is of little use to themselves or others." Merely keeping a literary journal directs the attention, and finds a succession of objects for it: should it not therefore be recommended to studious ladies?

Mr. Burke's "*Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*," raised him in the world, and introduced him to the acquaintance of several persons distinguished by rank or talents. That his conversation was eminently interesting, entertaining and instructive, is universally admitted. It was very discursive: if the person with whom he conversed, had full leisure to listen, and only

wished for general information, nothing can be conceived more delightful: it abounded with eloquence, elegance, learning, novelty and pleasantry: it was the basket of Pomona, full of every choice and every common fruit. But, if a person wished for information upon any particular point, and his time for listening was limited, Mr. Burke's eloquent rambles were sometimes very provoking. Sir Philip Francis once waited upon him, by appointment, to read over to him some papers respecting Mr. Hastings's delinquencies. He called on Mr. Burke, in his way to the house of a friend, with whom he was engaged to dine. He found him in his garden, holding a grasshopper: "What a beautiful "animal is this!" said Mr. Burke: "observe "its structure; its legs, its wings, its eyes." "How can you," said Sir Philip, "lose your "time in admiring such an animal, when you "have so many objects of moment to attend to?" "Yet Socrates," said Mr. Burke, "according "to the exhibition of him in Aristophanes, "attended to a much less animal: he actually "measured the proportion which its size bore "to the space it passed over in its skip. I think "the skip of a grasshopper does not exceed its "length: let us see." "My dear friend," said Sir Philip, "I am in a great hurry; let us

" walk in, and let me read my papers to you." Into the house they walked; Sir Philip began to read, and Mr. Burke appeared to listen. At length, Sir Philip having misplaced a paper, a pause ensued.—" I think," said Mr. Burke, " that naturalists are now agreed, that *locusta*, " not *cicada*, is the Latin word for grasshopper. " What's your opinion, Sir Philip?"—" My " opinion," answered Sir Philip, packing up his papers, and preparing to move off, " is, " that till the grasshopper is out of your head, " it will be idle to talk to you of the concerns " of India."

It may be added, that when Mr. Burke was in conversation, he frequently appeared to speak rather from the reflections which were working in his own mind, upon what his friend had said, than to give a direct answer to it, or to make a direct observation upon it.

It might be perceived, that those who constantly heard Mr. Burke's conversation, sometimes exhibited, when he spoke, symptoms of wearisomeness. *Toujours perdris*, partridge every day,—tires in the end. Some thought themselves entitled to be heard oftener than Mr. Burke's unceasing flow allowed. Mr. Fox's general habit of rumination made Mr. Burke's conversation a treat to him; but among

Mr. Fox's followers, several excelled in conversation; they wished to be heard, and many wished to hear them. This occasioned Mr. Burke's being sometimes listened to with impatience; this impatience was not always concealed; and something like a respectful quiz was sometimes offered. Here, Mr. Sheridan too often offended: —daily experience shows, that this is an offence not always pardoned.

The specimens which Mr. Prior gives of Mr. Burke's unpublished writings, during this period of his life, do him credit: but it is observable, that, in respect to style, they bear no resemblance to that of his subsequent productions. They contain much of the antithesis and measured period, with which the pages of Johnson and Robertson abound, but which occur so seldom in the publications by which Mr. Burke is principally known. His interesting letter to Mr. Murphy, seems to indicate that he disapproved them. Nor do the productions we speak of, contain any thing of,—if we may venture to use the words,—the low and strange expressions, which Mr. Burke afterwards introduced, and sometimes with great effect, into his compositions, in a manner peculiarly his own; and which sometimes startle, but are generally pardoned by his classical reader. In the growth

of the human form, the stature sometimes takes a sudden shoot. May not this be equally the case with intellectual growth? May it not be increased on a sudden? May not circumstances, sometimes observed, but oftener unobserved, bring latent and unsuspected energies suddenly into action?

It is evident, that Mr. Burke had treasured up, during the period of his life of which we have been speaking, an immensity of classical learning, and that he had acquired an extensive and profound knowledge of the writers of his own country. Nothing shews that he had much acquaintance with French or Italian literature. He was versed in metaphysics: he appears to have been a stranger to mathematics.

"For my own part," says the celebrated Gilbert Wakefield, "though I set inestimable va-
"lue on the general conceptions which I then
"acquired of mathematics, I felt within me no
"proper relish for those sublimities of know-
"ledge, nor one spark of real inventive genius.
"But happy the man, who lays the foundation
"of his future studies deep in the recesses of
"*geometry!* 'that purifier of the soul,' as Plato
"called it, and on the principles of mathemati-
"cal philosophy: compared with whose noble
"theories, I make no scruple to declare it,

" our *classical* lucubrations are as the glimmer-
" ing of a taper to the meridian splendour of an
" equatorial sun.

" What subject of human contemplation shall
" compare in grandeur with that which demon-
" strates the *trajectories*, the *periods*, the *dis-*
" *tances*, the *dimensions*, the *velocities*, and *gra-*
" *vitation* of the planetary system; states the
" tides, adjusts the nutation of the earth; and
" contemplates the invisible *comet* wandering in
" his *parabolic* orb for successive *centuries*,
" in but a corner of boundless space;—which
" considers that the diameter of the earth's
" orbit, of *one hundred and ninety* millions of
" miles in length, is but an evanescent point to
" the nearest *fixed star* in our system; that the
" *first* beam of the sun's light, whose rapidity
" is inconceivable, may be still traversing the
" bounds of endless space? Language sinks
" beneath contemplations so exalted, and so
" well calculated to inspire the most awful
" sentiments of the GREAT ARTIFICER: of that
" WISDOM, which could contrive the stupendous
" fabric: of that PROVIDENCE, which can sup-
" port it: and that POWER, whose hands could
" launch into their orbits, bodies of a magnitude
" so prodigious."—To this just and noble enco-

mium of mathematical lore, the Reminiscent humbly responds*.

With the history and the principles of the British constitution, and all that relates to its commerce and agriculture, Mr. Burke appears to have been thoroughly acquainted.

He always kept the best society, which his circumstances admitted. He gradually rose from the drudges of literature to its ornaments; from these, to its patrons. His circumstances were always scanty; yet no act of meanness, and many of kindness and liberality, are recorded of him

" ——*That he narrowed his mind,*
" *And to party gave up what was meant for mankind*"
GOLDSMITH.

may be true, and may be lamented:—but, that literature suffered by it, is very questionable. This seems to the Reminiscent to give rise to a remark, to which an answer highly honourable to Mr. Burke may be given. Is there, among the speeches of Cicero, one, for which men of letters would sacrifice his "*Offices*?" Is there, among the speeches or political publications of Mr. Burke, upon which his fame may be rested, one, for which they would not sacrifice his " Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful?"

* Wakefield's Memoirs. Vol. I. p. 103.

VI. 3.

Mr. Burke, from his entering into public Life till the Dissolution of the Rockingham Administration.

Mr. Burke began his political career as private secretary to Mr. Gerard Hamilton, who was, at this time, secretary of Lord Halifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. An annual pension of three hundred pounds, payable during pleasure, was granted, upon this occasion, to Mr. Burke. In consequence of a misunderstanding with Mr. Gerard Hamilton, Mr. Burke soon resigned both the employment and the pension. This gave rise to many calumnious reports: the publication of Mr. Flood's correspondence has not only vindicated Mr. Burke, but shown that he conducted himself through the transaction, with singular honour, and, in Mr. Hamilton's regard, with more delicacy than he deserved.

Let all who wish to make their fortune by attaching themselves to the great, reflect on the account given, in Mr. Prior's pages, of what Mr. Hamilton *expected* from Mr. Burke?

Ebloui de l'eclat de la splendeur mondaine,
Je me flattai toujours d'une espérance vaine,
Faisant le chien couchant auprés d'un grand seigneur,
Je me vis toujours pauvre, et tachai de paraitre.
J'ai vecu dans la peine, attendant le bonheur,
Et mourus sur un coffre en attendant mon-maitre.

Tristan L'Hermite.

How many, who have sought to advance themselves by the patronage of the great, might, at the close of their lives, have justly applied these verses to themselves!

In July 1765, the Marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the Treasury: about a week after his appointment, he nominated Mr. Burke his secretary; and, by an arrangement with Lord Verney, brought him into parliament, as member for Wendover.

The biographer of Mr. Burke has observed, that, "several of the admirers of Mr. Burke "have expressed some regret, that he ever sub- "mitted to be patronized; that he did not "rather seek the patronage of the public, and "pass his life in what they call literary inde- "pendence. This," says the biographer, "is "sad driveling."

The terms of the connection between Lord Rockingham and Mr. Burke, are not known; and it must be impossible to argue the point thus suggested, without a knowledge of them. There is no reason to suppose that they required from Mr. Burke any dishonourable, or even unpleasant sacrifice of principle: nor has it been intimated, that a demeanor, or even a single act of subserviency was required by Lord Rockingham, or is known to have been practised by

Mr. Burke. But Mr. Burke had a limited income: his style of living was expensive. How was this defrayed? Must it not have been by benevolencies? Without pushing the inquiry further, is it quite clear that Mr. Burke would not have been a happier man if he had existed without Lord Rockingham's patronage? Lord Rockingham's will contained no bequest in favour of Mr. Burke. His Lordship must have known that it was much wanted. Does this shew that his Lordship's previous feelings, in respect to Mr. Burke, were really kind? Probably, when the connection first commenced, Mr. Burke was persuaded it would quickly lead to another, and better state of things.

Whatever were his prospects or hopes, they were not of long duration. The Rockingham administration came into employment under the mediation of the Duke of Cumberland, on the 10th day of July 1765, and was removed, upon a plan settled by the Earl of Chatham, on the 30th day of July 1766. It is highly to their credit, that they obtained no reversion or pension, either coming in or going out, for themselves, their families or dependants. A succinct exposition of the merits of this administration was soon afterwards published by Mr. Burke,

under the title of "A Short Account of a late "Short Administration."

In 1779, Mr. Grenville published his celebrated "*State of the Nation.*" Mr. Burke published "*Observations upon it.*" All persons, who are conversant with Mr. Burke's writings, must have been struck with the numerous passages of exquisite splendour, profound judgment, and extensive and searching observation, with which they abound; but which, from some circumstance, are known to very few, even of his general readers. Of this, there is a remarkable instance in the work of Mr. Burke, which we have just mentioned: the length of it prevents our presenting it to our readers. In the former volume of these Reminiscences, we have intimated that an epistle of Cicero to Lentulus, in the first book of his familiar correspondence, contains the ablest delineation of *ratting*, and the most artful apology for it, that have appeared. "English Ratting," its process and its consequences, have not been so well described as they are by Mr. Burke, in some pages of this powerful work. Every man of letters must admire their beauty, every politician their truth, every philosopher the soundness of their morality. All who engage in public life

should frequently place it before their eyes, and meditate its lessons *.

VI. 4.

Mr. Burke.—Thoughts on the Cause of the present Dissensions.

THIS work is thought by many to be the ablest and most important of all Mr. Burke's publications: it expresses the principles of a true whig; a firm assertor of the settlement of the crown, and the rights and duties of the monarch and the subject, by the bill of rights; more jealous of the former than of the latter; and powerfully guarding against the excesses of each, by systematically preserving, in place and power, themselves and the great families attached to their politics.

Mr. Pulteney's apostacy, and the fleeting forms of the six successive administrations, with new faces but scarcely different principles, and each of them abusing all the others,—which followed Sir Robert Walpole's downfall;—and the present, at the end of these, of Mr. Pitt's pension and peerage, diffused a general disbelief of the real patriotism of aspirants to power.

* See Rivington's Edition of his works, Vol. II. from the words, "I believe," in page 198, to the words, "as to "others," p. 202.

It has been said, that George III. had been tutored to emancipate himself from the circumvallation of whigs, we have mentioned, by becoming his own minister; that, with this view, he appointed the Earl of Bute, a person, not then much known to the public, his prime minister; and that the people having compelled the Earl to resign his situation, the plan of an interior cabinet was formed, as a defence to the crown against the ministers, and their influence in parliament. But the existence of this cabinet has been doubted. On one hand, Lord Mansfield recognised it in one of his most celebrated speeches in the House of Lords; and the Duke of York adverted to it nearly in the same terms, in the pamphlet published by him some years ago. On the other hand, the late Earl of Liverpool, who was universally considered to have been the principal manager of this secret power, denied its existence in the most explicit and solemn terms. Being reproached with it in the House of Commons, he solemnly called upon Lord North to declare, whether in the course of his long administration, he had experienced, in a single instance, the operation of this supposed sinister junto. His Lordship answered unequivocally in the negative.

Mr. Burke advocates, with great ability, in

the pamphlet of which we are now speaking, the system of governing the nation by the influence of the great whig families. He supposes that, at the revolution, the crown being deprived, for the ends of the revolution itself, of many of its prerogatives, and being thwarted by the disaffected part of the nation, which then formed a numerous and powerful body, was obliged, for its support, to delegate a part of its power to men of such interests as could uphold, and of such principles as would adhere to its establishment; that the people, confiding in the known attachment of these men to their just rights and liberties, were pleased with this delegation; that it gave the persons entrusted with it, a consideration independent in some measure, of the court; that this could only be preserved by attention to the rights and wishes of the people; and that it was upon this account, an accession rather to the popular than to the royal scale; yet that, as they held their offices from the crown, and generally at its will, a due attention from them to its views might always be depended upon.

To this, the answerers of Mr. Burke's pamphlet replied, by admitting that, for some time after the revolution, the great families, thus in possession of place and power, found it neces-

sary, for their support, to attach the people to them by a decent attention to their cause; but that, in proportion as they had less want of the support of the people, they disregarded their interests, veered to the court, and finally "*erected* " against the liberties and virtue of their trust- " ing countrymen, the *undermining* and irresist- " able *hydra*, court influence, in the room of " the more terrifying yet less formidable mon- " ster, prerogative*." They also insinuated, that Mr. Burke had in his pamphlet, two objects in view;—one, to perpetuate the system of influence; the other, to secure the exclusive possession of it to his own political friends.

From this time, the rise of the party, professing to act as friends of the people, independently of the aristocracy, and equally hostile to their influence and the influence of the crown, may be dated. For a time, they grew up in silence and obscurity, but Mr. Burke lived to see them formed into a regular camp, and to exchange with them, many a shot.

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* Observations on a Pamphlet, intitled "Thoughts on the cause of the present discontent, by Catherine Macauley," (page 10).——The reader must observe the lady's strange confusion of imagery.

VI. 5.

Mr. Burke.—Miscellaneous.

Mr. Prior's Memoir of the Life of Mr. Burke, in two volumes, 8vo. now in its second edition, has been repeatedly referred to in these pages. It does justice to Mr. Burke, and credit to his biographer. It places Mr. Burke in a most amiable and respectable point of view, and entitles the writer to the thanks of all that great man's friends.

In reply to the present writer's assertion, in the former volume of the Reminiscences, of the difference between Mr. Burke's spoken and written speeches, the biographer produces Mr. Gibbon's testimony, certifying the correctness of the latter. Their substantial correctness may be admitted; but that they were greatly altered, as they fell from the pen, and passed through the press, both in method and language, admits of no doubt. Is it possible that any person, who commits to writing, a speech made by him,—the greatest part of it, extempore,—should preserve, without alteration, his words, his phrases, or even the order of his sentences? Would Mr. Burke do this, who never sent a manuscript to the press, which he had not so often altered, that every page was almost a blot, and who never

received from the press a first proof, which he did not almost equally alter.

Comparisons were often made between Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox.—In erudition of every kind, in political information, and in constitutional learning, Mr. Burke had a decided superiority. To this, must be added the sanctity of Mr. Burke's life. But the House of Commons was the *arena* of their combat for public favour; there, the argumentative vehemence of Mr. Fox always held the palm. The greatest admirers of Mr. Burke must allow, that he spoke too often and too long; that he was frequently injudicious, and that his voice and his manner were unpleasing.

His attempts at the sublime did not always succeed: his production of the Marseillese dagger, and throwing it on the floor of the House of Commons, is admitted to have been a failure. It excited a general smile, which nothing but Mr. Burke's high respectability prevented from becoming a laugh.—"Here is the knife," said Mr. Sheridan, "why did not he give us the "fork*."

* The proximity of the sublime to the ridiculous, was finely noticed by a celebrated vocal performer, to the managers of a musical exhibition in a cathedral. Luther's Hymn was to be sung, with its trumpet accompaniment.

Neither Mr. Burke's plan of war, nor Mr. Fox's plan of peace, when the French revolution called for the choice of one of these, having been tried, the merit of each is problematical. It is evident, that Mr. Burke's depended, for its success, upon the formation of a grand, a powerful, and a sound coalition. Many grand and powerful coalitions were subsequently formed: not one proved sound. What reason therefore, is there for supposing that any coalition to be formed by Mr. Burke, would have been of sounder stuff? It evidently must have been formed of the same materials.

Mr. Burke often lamented, that his wisest measures were spoilt by the counteraction of his adversaries, and the injudicious interference of his friends. After the riots of 1780, he took under protection, Dr. Hay, a Catholic prelate in Scotland, whose house and library had been destroyed by the Scottish rioters. In consequence of Mr. Burke's exertions, a considerable

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It was proposed, that the performer should be placed high on the nave of the church, and there sound the trumpet notes. The vocal performer admitted, that, if it succeeded, the effect would be most sublime and impressive; "But how," he wisely asked, "can its success be secured?—Recollect, that "the step from the sublime to the ridiculous is very short.—"The slightest mischance will make the exhibition laugh-"able."

recompence for his losses was voted to him by parliament. On Mr. Burke's leaving the house, the writer of these pages walked up to him, to thank him for his exertions; "Your friend," he said, "is almost the only person, who has put "unlimited confidence and trust in me; ask him "how he has succeeded."

He soon began to entertain great doubts of the success of the attack of France by the coalesced powers. A gentleman has mentioned to the Reminiscent, that he was with Mr. Burke, while he read a letter, just received by him, which gave him an account of the surrender of Valençiennes: and that, when he came to a part in it, which mentioned that the Emperor of Austria had planted the Austrian flag on the walls of the town, he threw down the letter in a passion, exclaiming, "Ah! le scé-"lérat; cela vaudra cent mille homme a ces "sans-culottes."

VII.

Junius.

The biographer of Mr. Burke has attempted to prove, that Mr. Burke was the author of the celebrated letters, with the signature of *Junius*; but he has not removed even one of the objections made to Mr. Burke's authorship of them, in the former volume of these Reminiscences;

and the facts adduced by the biographer in support of it, fall very short of proof.

Two expressions of Mr. Burke, respecting Junius, the present writer has recollected, since the former volume of his Reminiscences was given to the public. It has always appeared to the Reminiscent, that a strong argument against Junius's being a lawyer by profession, might be supported by the great inaccuracy of some of his legal expressions. Such is that in his dedication: "The power of King, Lords and Com-" mons, is not an arbitrary power. They are " the trustees, not the owners of the estates. " The fee simple is in us." Now, in all trusts of the inheritance, the fee simple is in the trustees*.

The Reminiscent made this remark to Mr. Burke: "Junius," said Mr. Burke in reply, " probably was thinking of those long terms for " years, which you lawyers so dexterously carve " out of the fee simple, while you leave the fee " simple itself in the possession of the owner."

That Woodfall should, if he suspected Mr. Burke to be Junius, have inserted in his papers any thing to provoke Mr. Burke; or that, if Mr. Burke was Junius, he should have most

* Reminis. 4 Ed. p. 81.

vindictively prosecuted Woodfall in a court of justice, is inconceivable. No person who knew Mr. Burke's lofty opinion of himself, and of his qualification for premiership, can, for a moment, suppose he would have written the sentence, "I accept a simile from Burke, a sarcasm from "Barre:"—he would have sunk into the earth at the thought of being classed with Barre.

In the opinion of the Reminiscent, the claims of Burke, Lord George Sackville, Dyer and Glover, may now be put beside the question; and the only subjects to be discussed,—are, Who now has the custody of Junius's original letters? What was the connection of *Sir Philip Francis with Junius?*—Who was the *Swinney* mentioned in one of Junius's letters to Woodfall?—Has Loyd any and what claim to the letters? The Reminiscent has heard that Swinney was afterwards a bookseller at Birmingham.

On another occasion, the Reminiscent remarked to Mr. Burke, a very strong expression in one of Junius's letters, and intimated that it might bring him under the fangs of the law. Mr. Burke said, "Junius was an impertinent "fellow."

"*C'est le ton qui fait tout,*"

is a well-known French expression. The Reminiscent recollects that Mr. Burke appeared to

him, to use the expression in the tone of one, who disapproved of Junius's writings, and did not greatly value them. The Reminiscent has mentioned in the first volume, that Mr. Gibbon told him, that Mr. Fox did not greatly admire them.

Since the publication of the former volume, the public has been favoured with "a critical "inquiry respecting the real author of the Let-"ters of Junius, proving the same to have been "written by Lord Viscount Sackville,—by "George Coventry."

In this work, Mr. Coventry has collected, with surprising industry, every particle in the public or private letters of Junius, and every act and word of Lord George Sackville, which can be brought to prove his lordship's identity with Junius. He successfully shews that all, who appear to have been peculiarly esteemed, loved, despised or hated by Junius; were particularly esteemed, loved, despised or hated by Lord George. He mentions several coincidences, and other circumstances favourable to his hypothesis: but all he says, seems to the present writer, to fall very short of establishing his hypothesis.

Junius's Letter on the Disputes respecting Falkland's Island, has this remarkable passage. "The King of France's present aversion for "war, and the distraction of his affairs, are no-

" torious. He is now in a state of war with his " people. In vain did the Catholic King solicit " him to take part in the quarrel against us. " His finances were in the last disorder, and it " was probable that his troops might find suffi- " cient employment at home."

In his " Observations on Mr. Grenville's " *State of the Nation*,"—a publication nearly contemporary with the Letters of Junius, Mr. Burke thus expresses himself: " Under such " extreme straitness and distraction labours the " whole body of the French finances; so far " does their charge outrun their supply in every " particular, that no man I believe, has consi- " dered their affairs, with any degree of atten- " tion or information, but must hourly look for " some extraordinary convulsion in the whole " system, the effects of which, on France and " even over all Europe, it is difficult to con- " jecture."

Mens Præsaga futuri.

How superior does the mind of Mr. Burke shew itself in this passage, to that which Junius exhibits in the passage, cited from him.

In 1773, Mr. Burke visited France. In the following sessions of parliament, " he pointed " out," says his biographer*, " the conspiracy

* Vol. II. p. 246.

" of Atheism, to the watchful jealousy of go-
" ment." He said, "that though not fond of
" calling in the aid of the secular arm to sup-
" press doctrines and opinions, yet, if it ever
" was raised, it should be against those enemies
" of their kind, who would take from man the
" noblest prerogative of his nature, that of
" being a religious animal. Already, under the
" systematic attacks of those men, I see," said Mr. Burke, "many of the props of good govern-
" ment and religion beginning to fall. I see
" propagated, principles which will not leave
" to religion even a toleration, and make virtue
" herself less than a name:"—" Memorable
" words indeed," says the biographer, " when
" we consider their literal fulfilment."

Surely no person, who has read the passages we have just cited from Mr. Burke, can be justified in charging him with adopting, from private views, the principles, which he urged, at the distance of twenty years afterwards, in his speeches and writings on the French Revolution, and which are identical with those which we have cited, and with others, which we might cite from the same work and others written by him, about the same period.

VIII.

The Honourable and Right Rev. Shute Lord Bishop of Durham.

In the former volume of Reminiscences, we mentioned the munificence of the late Bishop of Durham. One, which his lordship had in contemplation, but which the illness which deprives us of him, prevented his carrying into execution, we now beg leave to notice.

It is known that the claim to the first invention of the sublime doctrine of fluxions was disputed by Newton and Leibniz; that the English universally ascribe it to the former; and that foreigners, in general, either ascribe it to the latter, or allowing Newton's claim to the first invention, contend that it was discovered and published by Leibniz, without any previous knowledge of Newton's discovery.

In a conversation, in which the subject was mentioned, the Reminiscent observed to the prelate, that several modern French writers had endeavoured to substantiate the claim of Leibniz: and he expressed a wish that Newton's claim should now be advocated by some writer, who would do it justice; and also do it in a manner

that would attract the attention of the mathematicians on the Continent. He remarked that the case had originally been brought before the public, by the *Commercium Epistolicum of Collins*; but that this work had become so scarce, that a copy of it had not, for a long time, been upon sale in the London market. He therefore expressed a wish that a new edition of Collins's work should be published, with a preface, both in the Latin and English language, detailing the discovery, and the subsequent improvements upon it. He also ventured so far as to hint, that the publication of such a work at the prelate's expense, would be worthy of a person in his dignified situation, a protector of literature, a lover of his country's glory. The prelate expressed himself pleased with the project, and desired the Reminiscent to have the expense of it calculated. The Reminiscent recommended that it should be printed in the cheapest form, to render the acquisition of it as easy as possible; and intimated that it might be safely intrusted to one of his friends, a member of St. John's College Cambridge, then, and at the present time, employed on a new edition of *Diophantus*. The Reminiscent then consulted Mr. Valpy the classical printer, upon the expense of the projected work;

he received from that gentleman a regular calculation of its probable expence: it was under 100*l.* He communicated it to the prelate: his Lordship expressed immediately his willingness to advance the 100*l.* and said he would confer, upon the plan of the publication, with some of his mathematical friends. Unfortunately the illness, which proved fatal to him, soon afterwards seized the prelate, and thus the project failed.

The beneficent spirit of the prelate remained in him till the last. A few weeks before his death, the Reminiscent was desired by him, to make inquiries respecting the reality of a scene of distress, to which his attention had been solicited, and the relief of which would have required a large sum of money: the whole representation proved to be an imposition: but, from the expressions of the prelate, the Reminiscent is confident, that, if it had proved real, the prelate would have contributed to it with the greatest liberality.

The confidence reposed by the prelate, during a long series of years, in the Reminiscent; the kindness, which the prelate uniformly shewed him, the honourable terms in which the prelate always mentioned him; and the blessing, with which, after signing his will, the prelate took

his last leave of him, will never escape his memory or his gratitude. In both they will ever live!

His, mihi dilectum Nomen, Manesque verendos,
His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar amico
Munere!—Non totus raptus licet, optime Præsul,
Eriperis—Redit os placidum, moresque benigni;
Et venit ante oculos, et pectore vivit Imago.

Jortin on Archbishop Herring.

To return to mathematics. MONTUCLA, *in the History of Mathematics**, gives a short and clear account of the controversy on the first invention of Fluxions. He concludes it by declaring, that "there can be no doubt of Newton's being the first inventor of Fluxions; this," he says, "is clear as day. But did Leibniz publish as his own, a discovery which he found in Newton's works? This," says Montucla, "we think he did not. In the two letters communicated to him by Newton, we see only the results of the method or methods employed by Newton; but no explanation of them. Were not the results sufficient to excite a person of Leibniz's transcendant sagacity to inquire into the means, which led Newton to the discovery of the results, particularly as Fermat, Barrow and Wallis, had

* Part V. L. I. Sect. 11.

"opened the road," and left, as he afterwards intimates, little be discovered.

This perhaps is the fairest statement which can be made of this interesting dispute. The celebrated *Carnot*, in his *Reflexions sur la Metaphysique du calcul Infinitésimale**, assigns to Leibniz a place in the merits of this discovery, above Newton. Other foreign writers on this subject express themselves, in respect to him, with less reserve. This seems to call on our countrymen for a new advocation of Newton's claim.

On another, and a much more extensive mathematical work, the Reminiscent,—without the slightest pretension from any mathematical knowledge of his own, to such a communication,—was once consulted. A gentleman, then considered to possess immense wealth, and not unskilled in mathematics, informed the Reminiscent that he wished to publish a complete edition of the printed and manuscript works of *Leonard Euler*; and desired him to procure the best information he could, respecting the probable size and expence of the publication. He found, that even the best informed persons in this country, had not more than very imperfect

* Conclusion Generala, 164-5-6.

notions of either. At length, he heard that Euler left a son, who resided at Vienna. He caused an application to be made to that gentleman, and was favoured by him with an answer. He has unfortunately mislaid it. His recollection of the contents of it, is, that the unpublished manuscripts were very numerous, and very important; that the whole of the projected work would contain not fewer than twenty volumes, of the size of the *Scriptores Logarithmitici of Baron Maseres.* The plan of his friend was to have the work printed in Germany, in the cheapest manner, under the direction of an English editor, if such could be found; that he himself should be the patron of the work, and bear the whole expence of the impression; and that, with the reservation of 25 copies, he should present it to the editor. But the distresses of the times came on, and put a stop to the munificent speculation.

How much is it to be wished that some mathematical Mecenas should arise and realize both projects!

IX.

The Lives of Erasmus and Hugo Grotius.

1. *Comparison between Erasmus and Hugo Grotius:*—2. *Difference between their Learning and that of the writers of the next age:*—3. *The Maurist monks:*—*Their "Histoire Literaire des Gaules," and "Rerum Gallicarum Scriptores:*—4. *The "Acta Sanctorum" of the Bollandists.*

About three years ago, in committing to the flames a heap of loose papers upon a great variety of subjects, the Reminiscent lit on some leaves, which contained Minutes and Observations made by him on the Lives and Writings of these two eminent persons. Several were written so long ago as between the years 1769 and 1773: they had long been laid by, and were absolutely forgotten, when the circumstance which has been mentioned led to their discovery. The Reminiscent found them better than he expected; and began to think, that by pillaging his own works, and levying some contributions on those of others, he might, harmlessly to himself, and not unpleasantly to a portion of the public, employ a couple of vacations in forming them into Bibliographical Memoirs, not absolutely unworthy of perusal. Both are now under the public eye.

IX. 1.

Comparison between Erasmus and Grotius.

In classical and patristic learning, in wit and humour, Erasmus certainly excelled Grotius; in general learning, Grotius was indubitably his superior. That Erasmus should acquire so much literary lore, and possess such literary taste and discernment, under the circumstances in which fortune placed him, is marvellous. A perfect knowledge of the classical writers, of the Greek and Latin fathers, and of the languages in which they wrote, cannot be denied him. With all the helps which we now have, few acquire them in the same degree. Does England now,—did it, even in the life-time of Porson,—contain persons, who could carry on such a Greek correspondence as that of Erasmus and Budæus?

Grotius had nearly an equal knowledge of the classical languages as Erasmus: he was intimately acquainted with the Latin and Greek writers: he was a Hebrew scholar: and had, what Erasmus wanted, a knowledge of the civil, canon, and feudal law; he was also profoundly versed in modern history.

IX. 2.

Difference between their Learning, and that of the Writers of the next Age.

The following age contained few writers who equalled these two distinguished persons, in classical or patristic erudition; but the range of learning had then become much more extensive. The learning of Huetius, Petavius, Selden, Usher, Cudworth,—(and it would be easy to mention others),—was more various, and not unequal, in amount, to theirs.

Had the Reminiscent to mention the person, whose literary endowments, if they could be attained by a wish, he would most wish for,—he would mention, without hesitation, Dr. Samuel Clarke. What could be wanting in literary happiness to a man, who could publish editions, approved by the whole world, of Homer, Cæsar, and Sir Isaac Newton? Who could write, as he wrote, on "the Being and Attributes of the "Deity?" Who was admired and sought for, as he was, by every society, into which it was desirable and honourable to be admitted?

IX. 3.

The Maurist Monks.

What profound and unbroken application must have been necessary for the acquisition of

such extensive literary stores as were possessed by the writers we have named!

Few, who have not witnessed the literary application of monastics, can form an idea of its long and never-ceasing perseverance. The *Maurist monk* rose at four, and retired to rest at eight. Subtracting from these sixteen hours, three for devotional exercises, and two for meals and recreations, eleven remained for study. We may reduce them to ten, if we allow,—(and it is a liberal allowance),—one hour of each day, upon an average, for casual interruptions. For what literary acquirements and productions does not this incessant exertion suffice?

What was effected by it may be seen by the *Histoire Litéraire de la Congregation de St. Maur.* To use the strong, but just expression of Mr. Gibbon,—the shelves of public libraries groan under the weight of the Maurist labours.

Two works which this learned congregation planned, and in part executed, and which are still carried on, the Reminiscent begs leave to mention.

1. The first is, *L'Histoire Litéraire de la France,* " *Ou l'on Traite de l'Origine et du* " *Progrés, de la décadence, et du rétablissement* " *des Sçiences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les* " *Français; Du Gout et du Genie des uns et* " *des autres pour les lettres en chaque siècle*

" *De leur anciennes Ecoles: De l'etablissement*
" *des Universités en Françe; Des principaux*
" *Colléges; Des Académies des Sçiences et des*
" *Belles Lettres; Des meilleures Bibliothèques*
" *Anciennes et Modernes; des plus célébres Im-*
" *primeries; et de tout çe qui a un rapport*
" *particulier a la Literature. Avec les Eloges*
" *Historiques des Gaulois et des François qui*
" *s'y sont fait quelque reputation; Le Catalogue*
" *et la Chronologie de leurs Ecrits; De Re-*
" *marques Historiques et Critiques sur les prin-*
" *cipaux Ouvrages; Le dénombrement des dif-*
" *ferentes editions; le tout justifié par les Citations*
" *des Auteurs Originaux. Par des Religieux*
" *de la Congregation de St. Maur.* 4to. 1733—
" 1820."

Fifteen volumes of this work have been published; the last appeared in 1820: it brings the work to the year 1300. To each century, an ample dissertation, giving a general view of the state of literature during that century, is prefixed. It is greatly to be hoped that the work will be brought to a conclusion.

2. The title of the *first volume* of the other work, to which we have alluded,—is " *Rerum Galli-*
" *carum et Françicarum Scriptores; ou Recueil*
" *des Historiens des Gaules et de la France;*
" *(les plus anciens et les contemporains donnés*
" *dans leur langue originale); contenant tout çe*

" *qui s'est passé dans les Gaules avant l'arrivée*
" *des François*; *et plusieurs autre choses, qui*
" *regardent les François, depuis leur origine*
" *jusqu'à Clovis*; *le tout accompagné de Prefaçes*
" *de Sommaires, de Notes et de Tables par le*
" *R. P. Dom Martin Bouquet, et autres Reli-*
" *gieux Bénédictins.*" Paris, 1738. It has been continued on the same plan to the present time. The first volume was published in 1738; the seventeenth and last in 1818. The general value of the work is enhanced by the learned dissertations, the ample table of contents, and the full index, inserted in each volume; and by the maps and other explanatory or illustrative matter, occasionally introduced into the work. The tables of contents and the indexes are framed with so much skill and minuteness, as to bring almost at once before the reader's eye, all that can be found in contemporary or preceding writers, respecting any fact within the period of the collection, on which he can seek for information: at the same time, that the dissertations are so copious and so ably executed, that there seldom is a point of importance or difficulty, upon which the writers have not collected, for the reader, the learning and sentiments of all preceding writers upon it. Dom Bouquet lived to finish the eight first volumes; on his decease,

the work was put into the hands of *Dom Haudiquier*, who, with a view to it, had, in Dom Bouquet's life-time, learned the Arabic language, and actually spent some time in Arabia, to enable him to print, with a translation, the authors who have written in that language upon the crusades. The four last volumes were edited by *Michel Bryal*, a monk of the same congregation: the collection reaches to the year 1226, inclusively.

Invaluable as are the two works, which we have mentioned, they are by no means the only works of the same calibre, for which we are indebted to the Maurist congregation. In surveying the latter collection, it is impossible not to feel a wish for a similar collection of our ancient English historians.

IX. 4.

Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists.

ANOTHER, and a larger work than either of those which we have noticed, the Reminiscent now begs leave to mention,—particularly as it gives him an opportunity of relating a circumstance, honourable to the memory of one of our distinguished countrymen.

The *Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandists*—a succession of fathers of the Society of Jesus, known by that name,—was intended to be a

collection of all the lives and biographical accounts which have been written of the saints in the Roman Catholic Kalender: it now consists of 53 volumes in folio. The first volume was printed in 1643; the fifty-third, in 1794: twenty-four volumes of subsidiary matter accompany them. The whole collection is comprised in seventy-seven volumes; fifty-six in folio, ten in quarto, eleven in octavo. Several dissertations, replete with various and profound erudition, are interspersed in the body of the work; they are equally distinguished by the erudition and soundness of the criticism they display. All men of learning who are acquainted with their contents, acknowledge that they contain an immense collection of sacred and profane literature, equally recondite and useful.

Leibniz, in a printed letter to the count of Merode, praises the work highly; he says, that, "if the Jesuits had published no other, this alone "would have entitled them to existence, and to "be sought and esteemed by the whole world." The work was first projected by *Father Rosweyde*, of the Society of Jesus. He died before he had completely digested his plan. Fortunately for the lovers either of sacred history or sacred literature, it was taken up by *Father Bollandus* of the same society, and was carried

down by him, and other members of it, to the 14th day inclusive of the month of October. Those, who after the decease of Bollandus succeeded him in the undertaking, received, from him, the name of *Bollandists*. Antwerp was the scene of their labours. There, they were engaged on this noble work, when, under the command of Pichegru, the enemies of every thing sacred possessed themselves of the city.

Soon after this event, the Reminiscent was informed that the written collections, made for the proposed remaining volumes, would be sold for 200*l.* to any library, in which they might be preserved for public use. This, he mentioned to the late Sir Joseph Banks, and suggested to him, that it would be a very proper purchase for the *British Museum*. "Certainly it would," said Sir Joseph Bankes, "but we have no money: "I will, however, advance it, and present "the collection to the Museum. I beg you "will treat for the work; you may go a little "further than 200*l.* for it, if you find it "necessary." On the gleam of public tranquillity, which followed the death of Robespierre, the owners of the collection thought it advisable to preserve it, in the hope of resuming their labours. The Reminiscent has made several enquiries into its fate. He thinks

it most probable, that it is preserved in the Benedictine abbey of *Tongerloo*, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp; it would be a misfortune to the literary world that the work should not be completed. A perfect copy, marked 94 *l.* 10 *s.* has its place in Rivington and Cochrane's Catalogue, for 1824.

Many of the most important dissertations contained in the *Acta Sanctorum*, were published separately, in Venice, (1749-1759), in three volumes folio. In his reply to Dr. Southey's "Book of the Church," the Reminiscent thinks he has incontrovertibly refuted that learned writer's assertion, that a Roman Catholic is bound to believe all the miracles related in the Breviary. In addition to the authorities produced by the Reminiscent, in support of his opinion, he begs leave to avail himself of this opportunity of citing the following sentence, from a Bollandist writer, in the second volume of these dissertations*. "*Nimiâ profectò simplicate peccant qui scandilizantur quoties audiunt, aliquid ex jam olim creditis, et juxta Breviarii prescriptum quotidie recitandis, in disputationem adduci:*"—"*In truth, those err by excessive simplicity, who are scandalized,*

* Dissertationes Bollandicæ, Vol. II. p. 140.

" *whenever they hear any thing called in ques-*
" *tion, which was formerly believed, and must*
" *now, according to the prescribed rule respecting*
" *the Breviary, be recited daily.*"

The Reminiscent begs leave to close the article, by mentioning the following anecdote. The late Sir Richard Worsley had made a valuable collection of marbles and curiosities in Greece and other parts of the Turkish dominions. They were shipped for England, captured by a French frigate, and taken to Paris. Understanding that he was acquainted with the Consul Barthélémi, Sir Richard requested the Reminiscent to mention the circumstance to him. This was done—and Barthélémi conversed with *Napoléon* on the subject. The great man was inexorable:—" Mais apres tout," he observed to Barthélémi, " la collection sera " plus a portée des Anglais, dans la bonne ville " de Paris, qui dans leur triste Musée."

X.

REPLY TO THE ARTICLE IN THE QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR MARCH 1826, ON THE REVELATIONS OF SISTER NATIVITÉ. 8vo. Murray, 1826.

THE Quarterly Review, for March 1826, contains an article on "*The Revelations of la "Sœur Nativité,*" formerly a lay sister in a convent at Fougères, near the city of Rennes, in Britanny. Before the year 1790, Jesus Christ, by her account, appeared to her several times, made known to her the calamities, which some years afterwards, were to desolate the kingdom of France, and even foretold to her the death of Louis XVI. He also, by her account, favoured her with visions of the states of the blessed, and the reprobate; made to her several other spiritual communications of great importance, and directed her, in the fullness of time, to publish them to the world. She had been taught to read, but could not write. She therefore communicated some of these revelations, by dictation, to *Abbé Génét*, her confessor, and he committed them to the press; the others were sold, after her death, to a bookseller; and he published them. The writer in "the Quarterly "Review," pronounces her works to contain both some ridiculous and some abominable pas-

sages; and charges the ridicule and abomination on the whole Roman Catholic Church.

That the revelations contain many passages highly reprehensible, admits of no doubt: this, very few Catholics, if any, would deny. But it was not the intention of the Reminiscent to discuss their merits or demerits in his Reply to the Article in the Quarterly Review: his only object was to shew, that, considering the small number of those, who had expressed any approbation of the revelations, and the great number and high character of those, who had condemned them, there was no just ground for charging their merits or demerits upon the Roman Catholic Church: this, the Reminiscent thinks he has demonstratively proved.

In the course of the work, he notices, "*The "Subversion of Materialism, by credible Attes- "tations of Supernatural Occurrences; by S. "Dennis, B. C. L. Prebendary of the Royal "Collegiate Church of Exeter Castle,*"—published within the present year. It contains extraordinary narratives, as the writer explicitly states in VERBO SACERDOTIS,—of *Farewell Apparitions,—Supernatural Foretokens,—Supernatural Dreams,—Supernatural Warnings,—Apparitions—Communications—Rescuscitations,—Trances,—Haunted Wretches,—Vindictive*

Witchcraft,—Infernal Transits,—and Diabolical Apparitions. The Reminiscent observes, in his reply, that "this is the work, not of an obscure "man, immersed in the gloom of a convent; but "of a prebendary, who had had the advantage "of an university education, who mixed with "the great and the learned, and whose super-"natural relations were warranted by several "persons of noble families and the highest "respectability."

"Surely," says the Reminiscent, "it would "be the extreme both of wickedness and folly, "to charge this book upon the whole Church "of England. Is it not equally unjust to "charge the dreams of the Sœur Nativité upon "the whole Roman Catholic Church? Is it not "high time that all such charges and recrimi-"nations should end? Do not all *gentlemen* "desire it?"

With this reflection the Reminiscent leaves the Reviewer.

Above half a century ago, the subject of the intercourse between God and a pious soul, in a state of religious contemplation, engaged the attention of the Reminiscent.

At that time, a new edition of Mr. Alban Butler's "*Lives of the Saints*" was undertaken: the Reminiscent promised the publisher, to prefix to

it an account of the learned author's life and writings. This, he afterwards performed, by a work noticed in the preceding volume of this publication *.

Mr. Alban Butler's collection of the "Lives "of the Saints," abounds with relations of the contemplative prayer of several of the holy persons, whose lives it contains: of their raptures, visions, revelations and miracles. Of these, Mr. Alban Butler is much more sparing, than the generality of his predecessors in agiography. His work, however, gave general satisfaction on this, as on all other accounts, to his Roman Catholic readers. The most liberal of them did not impute to him too much credulity, or the most orthodox too little belief:—It may be added, that his work was highly esteemed by some eminent lights of the Church of England, as Dr. Lowth, Dr. Pearce, Dr. Kennicott, and Dr. Lort. Still, objections were made to these relations, by some English and some French Catholics.

After examining the subject attentively, and reading and thinking much upon it, the Reminiscent found, that the weight of evidence and argument in favour of Mr. Alban Butler's opi-

* Page 272.

nions upon these subjects, was great: this induced him to enter upon a full investigation of it. The subject again pressed on him for consideration, when he wrote *The Life of Fénélon*, whose mysticism forms a great portion of his history. The result was that, not for the sake of informing others, but for his own instruction, he composed the dissertation, which he shall now present to his readers. An ample extract from it was inserted in the *life of Mr. Alban Butler*; the whole, at the request of one of his friends, was inserted in the *Retrospective Review**. He now submits it to his present readers; but he particularly requests them to observe, that, in these mystic pages, he does not write his own words, describe his own feelings, or express his own experiences; he writes the words, describes the feelings, and records the experiences of the writers whom he consulted: and he readily acknowledges,—what he is sure his readers will readily believe,—that he has often written what he did not understand.

Pandite nunc Helicona Deæ.

VIRGIL.

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* N° II. May 1820.

XI.

Dissertation on Mystical Devotion.

[published in 1820.]

The attempts of Heathen and Christian contemplatives to raise their minds to an intimate communication with the deity, form a curious subject of inquiry. They have often engaged the notice of the theologian; but they equally deserve the attention of the historian and the philosopher. The following pages may, perhaps, be found to contain,—

I. Some account of the nature of mysticism:

II. Of the mysticism of the Pagans:

III. Of the mysticism of the Jews:

IV. Of its supposed prevalence in the early ages of Christianity:

V. And in the middle ages: noticing, in this place, the excesses of some mystics of those times:

VI. Some notion will then be presented to the reader, of the modern mystical writers among the Roman Catholics: and of the errors of Molinos, and the modification of them by Madame Guyon:

VII. Then—of the doctrine of mysticism, as it is found in the writings of the most approved Catholic mystic authors:

VIII. And of their account of a mystical prayer:

IX. Mention will then be made of some mystics of eminence of the church of England:

X. And of the mysticism of the Quakers:

XI. And the mysticism of the Methodists.

XI. 1.

The Nature of Mysticism.

MYSTICISM is defined to be, an union of the soul with God; so intimate, that its essence is, in a manner, transformed into the essence of God; and, in consequence of it, the soul beholds him, not intuitively, as he is seen by the blessed in heaven, but in a divine light: and believes in him, hopes in him, and loves him, not by particular or discursive acts, but in silent affection and adoration.

It evidently is the disposition of the human mind, when it receives a forcible impression of any object, which engrosses its attention, for any considerable length of time, to become, in a manner, identified with it. Hence, it has been thought, that incessant contemplation of the divine perfections leads the soul to an intimate communion with the deity; that, in the view of his adorable essence, she becomes lost in silent wonder and love; that her other functions, and even her affections of devotion, die within her; that she no longer fears and no longer hopes;

but that a mysterious inanition takes place, and she becomes, in many respects, *one* with the divine object of her adoration.

XI. 2.

Mysticism of the Pagans.

To this sublime state of speculation several sects of Pagan philosophers aspired.

1. In the history of *Indian* philosophy, the Brachmans and Samanæans are described to have lived in retirement; to have avoided any intercourse with mankind; to have abstained from wine and animal food; to have practised great bodily austerities; and to have endeavoured, by assiduous prayer, meditation, and abstraction from terrene objects, to raise themselves to an incessant communication with the deity.

2. The *Egyptian* priests lived in the same state of contemplative seclusion.

3. From them, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* borrowed much of their schemes of philosophy: the great object of them was to shew, that the soul, by disentangling herself from all animal passions and sensible objects, could rise to the world of intelligence, obtain a view of the first great cause, and prepare herself to return to her original habitation.

"Plato's disciples of the Eclectic sect (says Dr. Enfield, in his History of Philosophy*,) aspired to a sort of deification of the human mind. They adopted, from oriental philosophy, the system of emanation, which supposed an indefinite series of spiritual natures, derived from the same supreme source; whence, considering the human mind as a link in this chain of intelligence, they conceived, that by passing through its various stages of purification, it might, at length, ascend to the first fountain of intelligence, and enjoy a mysterious union with the divine nature. They even imagined, that the soul of man, properly prepared by previous discipline, might rise to a capacity of holding immediate intercourse with good demons, and even enjoy, in ecstasy, an intuitive vision of God."

4. The mysticism of *the modern, or rather the second school of Platonic mystics*, appears to have begun with Ammonius Sacca, a learned man, who flourished in the second century. He was born of Christian parents, and, probably, always lived in the outward practice of the Christian religion. He attempted to bring about a coalition of all philosophical and all religious

* Book 3. ch. 2. s. 4.

sects; all, he said, were grounded on the true philosophy and true religion of the east, taught to the Egyptians by Hermes, preserved in its original purity by Plato, his best interpreter; that it was afterwards adulterated, but was restored by the precepts of Jesus. Ammonius enjoined to his disciples a rule of life of extraordinary sanctity and austerity; he allowed the generality of them to conform, outwardly, to the duties and customs of the country; but enjoined a sublimer rule to the wise. They were to extenuate, by hunger, thirst, and mortification, the animal passions of man, and raise their souls by holy contemplation, to the presence of the divine being, and to commune with him. This was to be effected by continued abstraction, aided by certain mysterious practices, called the Theurgic art. By these, the mind was sublimated; and obtained a view of the demons or spirits with whom the universe was peopled, and capacitated to perform wonderful things by their assistance. But communion with the supreme being was the ultimate object of the Ammonian theology. In this life, it might be attained in a high degree, where the disciple had sufficiently purged and refined his soul from the terrene particles which incumbered it. Death would complete her separation from the body,

and she would then ascend, active and unincumbered, to the universal parent, the divine truth, and live in his essence for ever.

XI. 3.

Mysticism of the Jews.

THE introduction of the Chaldaic philosophy, among the Jews, led many of them to the same fanciful speculations. These were particularly found among the *Essenes* and *Therapeuts*, two classes of solitary contemplatives, loosely spread over Syria, Egypt, and the adjoining countries. Sublime contemplation was the aim of each. Of the former we know little: of the latter, we have an interesting account, written by Philo the Jew. We learn from him, that they were divided into the practical and theoretical: that both were addicted to sublime contemplations: that the former allowed some of their time to the active duties of life; but that the latter was wholly absorbed in divine philosophy: they endeavoured so to habituate themselves, that God should never be absent from their minds; and that his beauty and excellence should always dwell in their thoughts. Thus, they described themselves as habitually living in the recollection of his presence, and uttering, even in sleep, divine things.

XI. 4.

Mysticism of the early Christians.

1.—In the *New Testament*, the advocates of mysticism find it in the words of Christ, (John, c. xiv. v. 23), in which he says, "If any one love me, he will keep my commandments; and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him:" and, in a passage in the epistle of St. Paul, (2 Cor. c. iii. v. 18), where the apostle mentions, that, "beholding God, without a veil, we are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of our Lord;" and in a passage of St. John, (epistle 1. c. iv. v. 16.) in which he says, that "God is charity; and that he who abideth in charity, abideth in God, and God in him."

2. From the writings of *the apostolic fathers*, particularly St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, several expressions are cited by mystical writers, which appear to shew that mystical theology, in the same sense in which it is spoken of by more modern writers, was known to them.

3. In the *second century*, it appears more clearly and systematically expressed in the writings of St. Clement, Bishop of Alexandria.

A work, with the title, *On mystical Theology*,

which is ascribed, by some very respectable writers, to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, and was certainly written before the fifth century, treats, fully and distinctly, of mystical theology, and unequivocally professes to shew, that by disengaging the affections from all sensible things, the soul can be raised, as it is termed by the writer, "to the contemplation of the divine obscurity, the incomprehensible Godhead." Some passages, translated from other authors, and cited as authorities, are said to be founded in this writer.

4. That mystical devotion was common among the *Fathers of the Desert* is, say the advocates of mysticism, clear from the writings of Cassian.

5. From this time, few traces of it, they generally admit, are discoverable among *the writers of the Latin church*, till the year 767, when Pope Paul sent a copy of the treatise of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, to Lewis the Debonnaire; and that monarch circulated it among the clergy of France, by whom it was generally read and approved. Photius mentions St. Dionysius as "a disciple of St. Paul, powerful and sublime in oratory, but greater in contemplation." In 860, the works of St. Dionysius

were translated from the Greek into the Latin language, by the order of Charles the Bald.

The writings of St. John Climachus, the last of the Greek, and of St. Bernard, the last of the Latin fathers, abound with mystical elevation; and it never appears to more advantage than in the writings of the latter.

XI. 5.

Christian Mysticism during the Middle Ages.

In the middle ages, mystical theology soon fell into the hands of the scholastic divines, particularly the two St. Victors, Hugo and Richard, St. Thomas of Aquin, and Albert the Great. But, while it was discussed by these writers, with the accuracy and refinement of scholars, it was expressed, in a more free and devotional manner, by some of their contemporaries. Among these, *St. Bonaventure, Taulerus, Rusbrock, Dionysius the Carthusian*, are particularly distinguished. To Taulerus, the mystical writers are particularly partial; and it is observable, that he is always mentioned by Luther, in terms of the highest commendation. "If you wish," says Luther, in a letter to Spalatinus, (tome 1, p. 23), "to read antient and pure theology in

your native German, *purchase the works of Taulerus, the Dominican monk; no where, either in the Latin or in the German language, is more pure or more spiritual theology to be found.*"

A little before the time of which we are now speaking, some errors, from which the worst consequences clearly followed, were introduced into mysticism, by a sect, called *Bogards*.

Two of their errors may be thought to deserve particular mention; the first, that a person may, in this life, acquire so high a state of perfection, as to become absolutely impeccable, and incapable of advancing farther in virtue; the second that, in this state of perfection, prayer is unnecessary. Their errors were condemned in 1311, at the general council of Vienne, at which Pope Clement the Fifth presided in person.

Taulerus wrote against the Bogards: he was highly celebrated for his extensive and profound learning. Rusbrock, on the contrary, was perfectly ignorant of the science of the schools; and many of the most objectionable passages, in the writings of the mystics, are taken from his works. Some passages of this description were objected, both to Taulerus and Rusbrock, by Gerson, the celebrated chancellor

of Paris. In Harphius, a Franciscan friar of Mechlin, they met with an able advocate.

Among the writers of these times, the mystics are proud to mention, in their list, St. Catherine of Sienna, St. Catherine of Genoa, and the blessed Angela of Foligna.

XI. 6.

Modern Roman Catholic Mystical Writers.

1. THE modern Roman Catholic school of mysticism opens with *St. John of the Cross* and *St. Theresa.* All spiritualists agree, that no mystic writer appears to have been more highly gifted, or to have used more accurate language, than St. Theresa: her works are written with great fire, and in an excellent taste; they abound with judicious remarks; and the best Spanish writers inform us, that the style of them is most elegant and correct.

The work of *St. Francis of Sales*, on the *love of God*, has, of all mystical writings, been the most read. "He paints in it," says the author of the Lives of the Saints, "his own soul. He describes the feeling sentiments of divine love, its state of fervor, of dryness, of trials, suffering, and darkness: in explaining which, he calls in

philosophy to his assistance. He writes on this sublime subject, what he had learned by his own experience. Some parts of the book are only to be understood by those, who have gone through these states; yet, the author has ever been admired for the performance. The general of the Carthusians had written to him, upon his *introduction to a devout life*, advising him to write no more, because nothing could equal that book: but, seeing this, he bade him never cease writing; and James I. was so delighted with the book, that he expressed a great desire to see the author." Those who wish to read the celebrated work of St. Francis of Sales, should procure the edition of it by Father Bignon. The edition, published at Lyons, in 1628, by Drobet, was adulterated; and, on the complaint of the brother of the author, was suppressed by the order of Louis XIII. A correct and true edition of the work was printed at Lyons, by Courcellys, in 1629; but the faulty edition, with its additions and interpolations, has been often reprinted, which makes it the more desirable to procure the edition of Father Bignon.

The errors of the Bogards have been mentioned: we must now mention the errors of the Quietists. These were a modification of the

errors of the Bogards. The patriarch of them was *Michael de Molinos:* his errors were condemned by Innocent XI. in 1680.

Quietism was a modification of the errors of Molinos; it was justly charged on the writings of Madame de Guyon; and certainly some expressions, used by Fénélon, are tinged with it*.

2. *Mystical writers, subsequent to St. Francis of Sales,* may be divided into those who preceded, and those who were subsequent to, the disputes in which Fénélon was engaged. The most eminent of the former are *Father Surin* and *Cardinal Bona.* In the disputes of Quietism, both Bossuet and Fénélon appealed to the writings of Father Surin, and each pronounced them to be free from reproach. They were first printed with the formal approbation of Bossuet. They consist principally of his *Fondemens de la Vie Spirituelle,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.* edited by Father Bignon; and of his *Letters, in* 2 *vols.* 12*mo.* In the first, he mentions, that one of the most sublime contemplatives, whom he ever knew, was a journeyman in a working trade, with whom he happened to travel in a French diligence; and who afterwards, as we find from

* The controversy to which this gave rise, is mentioned, at some length, in the Life of Fénélon, by Mr. Butler.

Boudon's Letters, became a lay-brother amongst the Capuchins. The mystical writings of *Cardinal Bona* deserve the highest praise, for the accuracy of their doctrine, their affecting piety, extreme erudition, and exquisite Latinity. It may be doubted, whether, since the days of the younger Pliny, any Latin author has written in verse or prose, with greater elegance. Yet it may be questioned, whether the subject is treated in any work so perspicuously, (though with great brevity), as in the *Catechisme de St. Therèse, contenant toute la Doctrine necessaire pour la Vie Spirituelle;—Bruxelles,* 1675.

3. *The disputes between Bossuet and Fénélon* brought mysticism into disrepute. Contemplative writers, subsequent to that time, have cautiously abstained from entering into any detailed account of the gifts of contemplative prayer; and seem to confine themselves to exhortations to habitual recollection of the presence of God; to the practice of humility, self-denial, retirement, and detachment from worldly objects; and to moving descriptions of the blessings, which the peace of God confers on those who enjoy it.

Of this description of writers, but long anterior in time to the period of which we are now speaking, is the author of "*The Imitation of*

Christ." " That," says Fontenelle, " is the most excellent book which ever came from the hand of man, the gospel being of divine original." This is the highest eulogium that any work has received, and its justice is universally admitted. *Valert* founds an argument against the claim of Thomas-à-Kempis to be its author, on the supposed inequality of the acknowledged works of that writer, which, he says, are extremely flat: but the justice of this censure was denied by the late Mr. Alban Butler, the author of the Lives of the Saints: he always spoke in terms of the highest commendation of the treatises of Thomas-à-Kempis, *de verâ Compunctione* and *de Tribus Tabernaculis.*

The doctrine of this celebrated book, in a more modern dress, but with much of the beautiful simplicity of the original, is elegantly expanded by Father Neuville, in his " *Morale de l'Evangile,* 4 *vols.* 8*vo.*; by Father Gonnelieu, in his *Pratique de la vie Interieure,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.*; *L'Exercise de la vie Interieure,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.* by Father Lombez, in his *Traité sur la Paix Interieure,* 1 *vol.* 12*mo.*; and in *La vraie et solide Pieté de St. Francois de Sales,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.*

4. Mystical devotion never prevailed much in *England.*

The " *Scale of Perfection*" of Hylton, a

Carthusian monk, was formerly much read. The "*Sancta Sophia*" of Father Baker, a Benedictine monk, in the abridgment given of it by Father Cressey, of the same order, and "*Philotheus's Pilgrimage to Perfection,*" in a practice of ten days solitude, Bruges, 1668, were once popular among English Roman Catholics. The *Sancta Sophia* was severely animadverted upon, by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his "*Idolatry, practised by the Church of Rome;*" Cressey replied to it, by his *Answer to Part of Dr. Stillingfleet's Book,* entitled "*Idolatry practised by the Church of Rome;*" and his "*Fanaticism, fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr. Stillingfleet.*" In answer to this work, Lord Chancellor Clarendon published a vindication of Dr. Stillingfleet, entitled "*Animadversions* on Mr. Cressey's book, entitled Fanaticism, fanatically imputed," &c. Mr. Cressey answered it, by "*An Epistle apologetical of S. C. a person of honour, touching his vindication of Dr. Stillingfleet.*" To this, Dr. Stillingfleet replied, by his "*Answer to Mr. Cressey's Epistle apologetical,*" &c. All these controversial works are ably written, and deserve an attentive perusal: not so much, however, for their mystic lore, as for the important facts and observations, which they communi-

cate, respecting the grounds on which the penal laws, in the English code, against the Roman Catholics, can be best attacked or defended.

XI. 7.

Mysticism, as it is found in the Writings of the most approved Roman Catholic Authors.

At an early period of Christianity, three states of *the Just* were noticed by her writers: at a later period, they were distinguished into *the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Contemplative or Unitive.*

1. The first, which took its appellation from Aristotle's purgation of the passions, is supposed to comprehend those, who have made their first advances in a spiritual life; who assiduously bewail their sins, are careful to avoid relapsing into them, endeavour to destroy their bad habits, and extinguish their passions; who fast, watch and pray, and are blessed with a contrite and humble heart.

2. The second is supposed to include those who divest themselves of earthly affections, study to acquire purity of heart, and a constant habit of virtue, the true light of the soul;—who assiduously meditate on the life and doctrines of Christ, and inflame themselves by it to the imitation of his virtues.

3. Those are supposed to be arrived at the *third* state, whose souls, thus illuminated, are dead to the world, are united to God, and enjoy his holy peace. Even in the *first* stage of a spiritual life, the comfort which the soul experiences, exceeds the joys of this world. With Bourdaloue, *(Sur la choix mutual de Dieu et de l'ame religieuse,)* the soul exclaims, "I have chosen God, and God has chosen me; this reflection is my support and strength; it will enable me to surmount every difficulty, to resist every temptation, to rise above every chagrin and disgust." From the moment in which this choice is made, the soul, according to the same eloquent preacher, (in his sermon for the feast of *St. Mary Magdalen,*) "begins to enjoy a sweet tranquillity: conscience begins to experience the interior joy of pious hope and confidence in the mercies of God, and to feel the holy '*onction*' of grace. In the midst of her penitential austerities, she comforts and strengthens herself by the thought, that she is making some satisfaction and atonement to God for her sins; that she is purifying her heart, and disposing it to receive the communications of heaven."

4. This comfort and sensation of happiness must necessarily increase in proportion as the soul *is*

illuminated, as the charms of virtue are unveiled to her, and her interior is filled with God. "Who can express," says Bourdaloue, "the secret delight, which God bestows on a heart thus purified! how he delights her! what holy sentiments and transports he excites in her!"

5. But, *when she lives for God alone,* then, in the language of the spiritualists, God communicates himself to her, and her happiness, as far as happiness is attainable in this life, is complete. Here begins the *contemplative or unitive state.*

What in this state of union passes between God and the soul, the most eminent spiritualists acknowledge their inability to describe. All admit, that the language and images by which they attempt to represent it, though they should be the best that industry and eloquence can supply, must fall short of what they wish to express. Still, for the edification and instruction of the faithful, of those particularly, who may think themselves called to it, they attempt to describe it as far as language allows.

They inform us, that, though it sometimes pleases Almighty God to elevate a soul at once to the sublimest contemplation, he generally leads her to it by the degrees we have mentioned. For each the soul disposes herself, by

prayer, penance, and submission, to the divine will: the fear and love of God enter into each; and each has its vicissitudes of spiritual joy and spiritual trial. The passage into each requires exertion and perseverance, and none can be attained without "holy violence." To obtain a contrite and humble heart, the foundation of all virtue, requires many an arduous effort, many a painful sacrifice. As the soul advances in virtue, her combats continue, temptations to vanity, to gratifications of sense, and dissipation of thought, press on her, and appear to multiply; —she flies from them to the "foot of the cross;" the more she takes of it upon her, the more she has to support of its weight: but she perseveres, and begins to taste how sweet the Almighty is to those who truly seek him. Still much imperfection hangs upon her, and self-love enters too much into her best actions. Self-love itself she finally subdues, and this leads her to the happy state of union with the Almighty, which, according to the writers of whom we are speaking, forms the just man's last and happiest state in this life. But, for the passage into it, the most heroic exertions and sacrifices are necessary; the soul must completely die to the world and herself, and obtain a complete victory over all that draws, or has even a remote tendency to draw

her from God. Persecution, from the world at large, from those who are most dear to her, repeated mortifications, and bitter external and internal trials of every kind, are the means which God generally uses to effect her final perfection; but, by far the severest trial, with which he visits her, is the "*spiritual night*," as it is termed by those writers, through which he generally makes her pass. In that state, she is assailed by the strongest temptations; she often seems to herself to be on the brink of yielding to them; and sometimes, fears she has yielded: the most blasphemous thoughts, the most irregular ideas, crowd her mind; she feels, or rather apprehends she feels, a complacency in them; God seems to her to abandon her, she no longer beholds in him her Father, her Redeemer, the shepherd who leads her to the green pasture, or the living water;—she views him armed with terrors, conceives herself an object of his wrath, and, in indescribable anguish, fears it will be her everlasting lot. Still, she perseveres, and in the midst of this agonizing suffering, she is invariably patient, invariably humble, invariably resigned, and, even when she seems to herself to sink under the harrowing impression of her being an eternal object of divine wrath, and fears all is lost, (her last and heaviest trial), she habi-

tually trusts herself to his mercy, and abandons herself to his holy will. *Then,* she is nailed to the sacred cross: she *dies* to the world, to herself, to all that is not God, and *her sacrifice is complete.*

But, as these writers assure us, in the midst of this severe visitation, God is ever near her, and enriches her with the most pure and exalted virtues. She acquires an habitual conformity to his holy will, a perfect indifference to all actions and objects, except as they please or displease him: on him alone she is occupied; with him alone she is filled; she lives for him alone; and the divine transformation, so beautifully described by St. Paul, when he exclaims, Gal. ii. 20. "It is not I that live, it is Christ that liveth in me," then ensues.

Such are the spiritual favours, which in this hour of desolation, while she herself is not only unconscious of them, but, actually fears herself to be an object of wrath,—this humble and afflicted soul is said to receive from the unbounded mercy of God; and such, they inform us, are the exalted gifts with which her perseverance is crowned.

Often she continues, for years, in a state of trial; and the spiritualists, who describe it,

speak of it as exceeding every species of corporeal pain. But her hour of reward at length arrives: and God, then, showers on her an abundance of those sacred favours which, the same writers tell us, no one can adequately describe, and those alone conceive who have had some experience of them. Wonderfully her intellect is enlightened on divine subjects, her will animated by divine love, her memory radiated by the recollection of the divine mercies. Her appetites are so governed by the Holy Spirit, as to become subservient to her religious perfection; her very corporeal existence partakes of the holy jubilation of her soul, and rejoiceth with her in God her Saviour. She beholds not intuitively, as they are beholden by the angels and the saints, but in a divine light, the adorable essence, the sacred mysteries of the Trinity and the incarnation, the unspeakable perfections of God, and the wisdom and justice of his ways with man. He admits her to habitual and intimate communications with him. "Frequent," says the author of the Imitation of Christ, (lib. 2. c. 1.) "are the visists of God to such a soul, sweet his conversation with her, grateful the consolations, unspeakable the peace he brings to her, wonderful the familiarity which he vouchsafes

her." Her joy is pure and passeth understanding: surrounded by the light and power of divine love, she lives and feels and moves in God alone.

XI. 8.

Mystical Prayer.

It is particularly in *her prayer*, that the pious soul experiences those favours.

1. Generally speaking, the incipient, in a spiritual life, begins with *vocal prayer*, and, at first, contents himself with attentively reading those forms of prayer, which books supply. "These," Bossuet observes, *Instruction sur les Etats d'Oraison* (lib. 5. sect. 21.) "rather inform the understanding than enter into the heart: but such prayers have abundant use; they resemble the bark of a tree, that covers and invigorates the sap which circulates under it; they are like the snow, which is spread over corn, and enriches the lands from which the corn draws its nourishment." Insensibly, he rises to *meditation*. At first, he avails himself of some collection of published meditations, dwells on what he reads, amplifies it in his mind, and excites his heart to follow and expand the sentiment which it produces.

2. By degrees, he trusts to himself, and his

reflections and sentiments are his own; but, for a long time, his understanding and imagination are more engaged by them than his heart, and the whole is a *work of exertion.* In the course of time, devotion becomes habitual to him, and motives of love, of admiration, of humility, of humble hope and chastened fear, gently, but irresistibly, fill his heart: and the soul with little exertion of the intellectual faculty, of which she herself, is sensible, receives and returns the purest, noblest, and most exalted sentiments of divine love.

3. At times, she is favoured with what ascetics term the prayer of *contemplation*; or, *supernatural* or *passive* prayer. All *Christian* prayer, they observe, is grounded in *faith*, nurtured by hope, and perfected by *charity*; and is, therefore, the fruit of supernatural grace: but, in the prayer of contemplation, the influx of the Holy Ghost excites the soul to divine love so powerfully, that external objects lose their natural operation on her: a kind of suspension of her faculties comes upon her, and she receives, passively and without any effort, on her side, of which she herself is sensible, the impressions which her contemplation of the deity, of his adorable perfection, and of his boundless love, makes in her: it is, in this sense, that the prayer

of contemplation, particularly, is said to be *passive.*

Like the other stages of prayer, it has its degrees. In all of them the soul is rather *passive* than *active*; and, without any *sensible* exertion, receives an holy quiet and repose from the divine visitation. Exalted by his mercy to a pure and undisturbed contemplation of God, she beholds him infinite in his perfections; all goodness, all wisdom, all power. Abandoning herself to his will, and humbly confident in his mercy, she remains before him in silent adoration and love, without fear or desire, and indifferent to all that is not God, or the will of God.

The highest degrees of this sublime prayer are called, by the writers on the subject, the *prayer of quiet* and the *prayer of union.* In the former, the intellect is more employed than in the latter. The prayer of union is the most sublime degree of prayer to be attained in this life, and in describing it, ordinary language, which the mystical writer has long found inadequate for the expression of his ideas, absolutely deserts him, and metaphor and allusion are his only support. The soul, as he describes it, then enters the cloud with Moses; or, as Cardinal Bona expresses it, she is conducted into the vast solitude of the Divinity, and sees, and hears, and

feels unutterable things. An enlarged knowledge of the divine increated God, is infused into her; she is penetrated with an exquisitely sweet, but wholly indescribable, sensation of his love for her, and her own fervent and humble return of love to him. It seldom happens, that the period of unspeakable delight is long; but it leaves in the soul a sovereign contempt and loathing of the world and its vanities, an ardent desire of beholding, in eternity, the author of her happiness, a firm but submissive hope of his blessing, and a painful, but patient, sense of its delay. The fear and love of God increase as she advances to her mortal term: and, in the mean time, she lives with God, and for him alone.

All approved writers, who write on these high states of prayer, declare their total inability to define or describe them in adequate terms; or to give even a notion of them, to those to whom prayer is not a familiar employment. After some exposition of them, Cardinal Bona expresses himself in these terms; "Omitto plura, hujus unionis, æqué abdita, et inexpertis incredibilia mysteria, mysticos contemplationis excessus.—Hæc secretioris sapientiæ sacramenta, ignaris relata, fidem amittunt, iisque, duntaxat, perspecta sunt, qui in hujus gradûs summitate,

pace fruuntur." All approved writers, on this subject, also agree, that though the sublime prayer of contemplation is often the reward of heroic virtue, the basis of which is perfect humility and perfect purity of mind and heart, many persons of the most eminent virtue do not receive it; that, though in some manner it may be regulated, it cannot, in the slightest degree, be acquired, by human precept;—that, generally, it is presumptuous to desire it; and that those, who conceive themselves to be favoured with it, should abstain, almost wholly, from making it a subject of conversation, and only mention it on very extraordinary occasions.

In an admirable letter of Father Bourdaloue, published by M. De Bausset, in a note to the first volume of the Life of Fénélon, that eloquent and judicious preacher forbids even to real contemplatives, all discourse on the subject; and intimates that they should seldom mention it even to their spiritual director. " Ce que ce serait à souhaiter dans le siècle en nous sommes, serait qu'on parlât peu de ces matières: et que les? mêmes qui pourroient être veritablement dans l'oraison de la contemplation, ne s'en expliquassent jamais entre elles, et encore même rarement avec leurs pères spirituels." Father Gonnelieu, in a work we have cited, (*Exercises*

de la Vie intérieure, p. 57.) cautions his readers against contemplative illusions. "Many," he says, "who think themselves called to it, and content themselves, as they term it, with remaining before God, and reposing themselves gently with thoughts of him, are merely idle, and often, really, fall fast asleep."

XI. 9.

Mysticism of the Church of England.

PROTESTANT mysticism appears to advantage in the writings of the celebrated Doctor Jeremy Taylor, Doctor Henry More, and Mr. John Norris, contemplative divines of great eminence in the seventeenth century. They had, however, been preceded by the *Effigies Amoris*, or the Picture of Love unveiled, the work of *Mr. Robert Waryng*, a student of Christ-church, Oxford, and a noted *cavalier*. It was printed in 1649, and has been frequently reprinted: it is now little known; but the writer can recollect, that, in the time of his youth, it was a popular work, and frequently found exposed for sale on stalls.

A complete system of mysticism is exhibited by Mr. Norris, in his "*Idea of Happiness, or a Letter on what is the greatest Happiness attainable by Man.*" An abridgment of it has been published by the authors of the *Biographia*

Britannica. Having given an account in these pages, of the Roman Catholic mysticism, it may be pleasing to our readers, to compare it with Mr. Norris's Protestant mysticism: we shall therefore transcribe, for their perusal, the account of it in the work which we have mentioned:—

"Having laid it down that happiness consists only in the fruition of God, he proceeds to explain the nature of that fruition; and, asserting the insufficiency of a virtuous life to that purpose, as the word virtue is understood by the Stoicks, Peripatetics, and the generality of other moralists, he takes the word in that highest sense, which frequently occurs in the Pythagorean and Platonic writings on contemplation, and the unitive way of religion. This, in contradistinction to moral virtue, they call divine virtue; the former is a state of proficiency, the latter of perfection: the former is a state of difficulty and contention, the latter of ease and security: the former is employed in mastering the passions and regulating the actions of common life, the latter in divine meditation and the ecstasies of seraphic love. He that has only the former, is like Moses, with much difficulty climbing up to the Holy Mount; but he that has the latter, is like the same person conversing

with God, on the serene top of it, and shining with rays of anticipated glory. This is the last stage of human perfection, the utmost height of the ladder whereby we ascend to heaven; one step higher, is glory.

"Here then, continues he, I will build my tabernacle; for, it is good to be here. He then goes on to treat of contemplation, which he takes in a peculiar sense, as it signifies an habitual attentive study, application, and conversion of the spirit to God and his divine perfections. Of this, says he, the masters of mystic theology commonly make fifteen degrees. The first is intention of truth. The second is a retirement of all the vigor and strength of the faculties into the innermost parts of the soul. The third is spiritual silence. The fourth is rest. The fifth is union. The sixth is hearing the still voice of God. The seventh is spiritual slumber. The eighth is ecstasy. The ninth is rapture. The tenth is the corporeal appearance of Christ and the saints. The eleventh is the imaginary appearance of the same. The twelfth is the intellectual vision of God. The thirteenth is the union of God in obscurity. The fourteenth is an admirable manifestation of God. The fifteenth is a clear and intuitive vision of him, such as St. Austin and Thomas Aquinas attribute to

St. Paul, when he was wrapt in the third heaven. Others, continues he, reckon only seven degrees; viz. taste, desire, satiety, ebriety, security, tranquillity; but the name of the seventh, they say, is known only to God. However, he does not agree with the several Platonists, who, finding their master to define contemplation λύσις καὶ χώρησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, a solution and separation of the soul from the body, understood it literally and absolutely; yet, he says, there are exceeding great measures of abstraction in it; so great, that sometimes whether a man be in the body or out of the body, he himself can hardly tell; and consequently, the soul, in these preludiums of death, these neighbourhoods of separation, must needs have higher glimpses and beatific ideas of God, than in a state void of these devotions, and consequently must love him with greater ardency. This brings him to consider this love, which he will have to be not only intellectual, but passionate; the motion of the will being accompanied with a sensible commotion of the spirits, and an estuation of the blood: and animadverting on an argument against this opinion, it is not, says he, all the sophistry of the cold logicians, that shall work me out of the belief of what I feel and know, and rob me of the sweetest enter-

tainment of my life, the passionate love of God; whatever some men may pretend, who are strangers to all the affectionate hearts of religion, and therefore make their philosophy a plea for their indevotion, and extinguish all holy orders with a syllogism; yea, I am firmly persuaded, that our love of God may be not only passionate, but exceeding the love of women. He endeavoured to prove this from the use of church music; and maintains, that though the beauty of God be not the same with that which we see in corporeal beings, and as it comes intellectually, cannot directly fall within the sphere of the imagination; yet it is something analogous to it, and that very analogy is enough to excite a passion: he concludes, with describing the nature and force of seraphic love, which is to love God with the utmost capacity of a mortal creature in this life; when a man, after having many degrees of abstraction from the animal life, many a profound and steady meditation upon the excellencies of God, sees such a vast ocean of beauty and perfection, that he loves him to the utmost stretch of his power. *When he sits under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit is sweet to his taste.* (Canticles, ii. iii.) When he consecrates and devotes himself wholly to him, and has no passion for inferior objects.

When he is ravished with delights of his service, and breathes out some of his soul to him in every prayer. When he is delighted with the anthems of praise and adoration more than marrow or fatness, (Psalm cxix.) and feasts upon hallelujahs. When he melts into a calenture of devotion, and his soul breatheth out with fervent desires. When the one thing he delights in, is to converse with God in the beauty of holiness, and the one thing he desires, is to see him in heaven. This is seraphic love; and this, with contemplation, makes up that which the mystic divines style the unitive way of religion. By union, he does not understand that which is local, nor that of grace, nor yet that of charity; these two last being common to all men who, indeed, love God, but want the excellency of contemplative and mystic union; the union which these speak of, is between the faculty and the object, consisting of some habitude or operation of one towards the other. The faculties are the understanding and will, and the object God, and the operations, contemplation and love; the result of which two, in the mystic union, is thus admirably represented by Bishop Taylor, in his work entitled, *The Great Examination*. 'It is,' says he, 'a prayer of quietness and silence, and a meditation extraordinary, a

discourse without variety, a vision and intuition of divine excellencies, an immediate entry into an orb of light, and a resolution of all our faculties into sweetness, affections, and gazings upon the divine beauty: and is carried on to ecstasies, raptures, suspensions, elevations, abstractions, and apprehensions beatifical.'"

On Protestant mysticism, *The Psyco-Zoia*, or *the Life of the Soul*, a work of Dr. Henry More, published in 1649, may also be usefully consulted.

XI. 10.

Mysticism of Quakers.

THE opinion of Platonists, that "there is concealed in the minds of all men, a spark of the same wisdom that exists in the Supreme Being," is said by Mosheim, (Cent. xxii. § 2. part 2.) "to be the fundamental doctrine of Quakerism." All, according to their tenets, who seek to arrive at true felicity and eternal salvation, should endeavour by self-converse, contemplation, and perpetual efforts, to subdue their sensual affections, and draw forth this divine hidden flame; and those, by whom this mysterious operation is accomplished, feel a divine glow of light and warmth, and hear an inward and divine voice which, at once, leads them to truth, and assures

them of their union with the divine Being. This spiritual in-dwelling energy they call a ray of eternal wisdom; in general, they receive its impressions, and commune with it in silence; but it sometimes urges them to impart its holy truths to neighbours. The Spirit, then, in their language, moveth them to speak.

XI. 11.

Mysticism of Methodists.

THE mysticism of *the Methodists* is described no where so well as in the sermon of Mr. John Wesley, entitled "The Witness of the Spirit." He takes for his text the verse, (Rom. viii. 16.) "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." The doctrine, which he professes to deduce from these words, he announces to be important. He observes, that "it the more nearly concerns the Methodists, so called, clearly to understand, explain, and defend it; because it is one grand part of the testimony which God has given them to bear to all mankind. It is by his peculiar blessing upon them in searching the scriptures, confirmed by the experience of his children, that the great evangelical truth has been recovered, which had been for many years well

nigh forgotten." He then proceeds to unfold the great evangelical truth. The spirit, which he first mentioned in his text, is, according to the explanation which he gives of it, the Spirit of God; the other spirit mentioned in it, is the testimony of one's own conscience.

"By the former, I mean," says Mr. Wesley, "an inward impression on my soul; whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesseth to my spirit, that I am a child of God. That Jesus Christ has loved me; has given himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out; and I, even I, am reconciled to God. But I do not," continues Mr. Wesley, "mean hereby, that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice: no, nor always by an inward voice, although he may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose, that he always applies to the heart (though he often may) one or more texts of the Scriptures: but he so works upon the soul, by his immediate influence, and by strong, though inexplicable, operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm: the heart resting as in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being already satisfied that God is reconciled, that all his iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered." This inward conviction, or, in the language of

the Methodists, this *experience* of the soul, that she is an object of divine favour, is not the result of reasoning, it is the voice of the Spirit announcing its feelings antecedently to any reasoning whatsoever. "But let none," says Mr. Wesley, "presume to rest on any supposed testimony of the Spirit, which is separated from the truth of it; love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance. On the other hand, let none rest on any supposed trust of the Spirit, without the witness." What, then, is this great evangelical truth, which Mr. Wesley seems to claim exclusively for himself and his followers? In what does it differ from the general belief of all Christians, that he who loves God, keeps his commandments, and that, loving God, and keeping his commandments, the good and faithful servant of God has a consciousness of the divine favour, and the joy of a good conscience.

All who turn their attention to mystical lore, will peruse with pleasure *Peter Poiret's Bibliotheca Mystica*, 1 *vol.* 8*vo. Amst.* 1708; the preface of de Villefore to his life of St. Theresa, and the preface of the late M. Eméry, the superior of the Sulpician congregation of St. Sulpice at Paris, to his work entitled *L'Esprit de Sainte*

Theresa, 1 *vol.* 8*vo.* In the *Exposition de la Doctrine de Leibnitz*, 1 *vol.* 8*vo.* a very interesting publication, for which we are chiefly indebted to M. Emery, some passages from the letters of Leibniz are transcribed, in which he mentions the writings of St. Theresa with esteem, and says, that "they had suggested useful reflections to him," and that "he had found some solid reflections in those of St. Catherine of Genoa." In considering the nature and operations of the intellectual powers of man, we have sometimes thought that the reciprocal action of the soul on the imagination, and of the imagination on the soul, where the senses do not interfere, has not been sufficiently considered, and that a philosophical perusal of some of the most eminent mystics would lead to useful observation on this curious subject.

XII.

Doctor Parr.

The acquaintance of the Reminiscent with Dr. Parr, commenced about ten years before that gentleman's decease. They frequently met at the houses of their common friends: the Reminiscent could not but be gratified in seeing, that the Doctor was pleased with his society; and even sometimes desired him to be invited to parties purposely made for him. The Reminiscent uniformly found the Doctor instructive and agreeable; with strong prepossessions on some subjects; with kind and liberal feelings on all: loved and esteemed in proportion as he was known, and justly appreciated; ever mentioned with esteem, and frequently with gratitude. He honoured the Reminiscent by a bequest of a ring.

The Doctor's part, in the following Correspondence, must be read with pleasure. A considerable portion of it was, with his approbation, published in his lifetime. The Reminiscent hopes that the two letters, which follow the correspondence, will not displease.

LETTER I.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

WHEN I had the pleasure of seeing you, at the Dutchess of Sussex's, you did me the favour to say, you would address me a letter on the subject of my *Memoirs of the English Catholics*, with liberty to print it.

I scarcely know any thing, which would give me so much pleasure.

A second edition of it, was at that time in the press; and I was in hopes of having the pleasure of inserting in it the promised letter.

That edition was, however, printed without it, the whole impression is sold; and more than half of the new edition, the third, is printed.

Permit me to renew my request. You cannot wonder at my anxiety to have my pages dignified by a testimony, so highly honourable to them.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

CHARLES BUTLER,

Lincoln's-Inn.
5th November 1821.

LETTER II.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

Hatton, Nov. 8th, 1821.

Dear and excellent Mr. Butler,

From the time that I saw you, to the present moment, I retained in my mind the promise which I made you, and with my wonted plainness, I shall now tell you why it was not performed. Through seven months in last year, and nearly seven months in the present, I have been afflicted with a virulent and stubborn erisypelas, which, however, is now less painful. My spirits were oppressed by causes, which it is unnecessary to explain. My time was occupied, (as the gentleman who writes for me, well knows), in various, important, and sometimes painful business. I was much indebted to his assistance for conducting my correspondence; and to this hour, I am much behindhand. I have been hindered from sending to the press two little matters of my own. I have been oppressed by making a catalogue to more than ten thousand books. I was compelled to execute this task, with many interruptions, from the want of a scribe, and by much vexation partly from my auxiliaries, who neither understood,

nor could be expected to understand the description of books, which come in our way; and the result is, that in no year of my life, did I ever add so little to the stock of my own knowledge, or compose so little. Now, dear Sir, as to your own book, I read the two first volumes attentively.

I was very much instructed by them. I was in general pleased by their spirit; but, upon one point, you have dropped from your dignified eminence of liberality. You have been pointedly acrimonious, and, in my judgment, have been glaringly unjust to the memory of CRANMER; it was impossible for me not to contrast your elaborate and most peremptory strictures upon him, with the conciseness which you preserved, when you spoke of two well known Roman Catholics*; who were his contemporaries. I do not mean to say that Cranmer was faultless, or quite consistent. I have not seen the human being, who, under similar circumstances, would not sometimes have failed. I do not lay much stress upon self-preservation. Where Cranmer was in danger of his life, from a capricious tyrant, Cranmer ought to have cared little about life and death. But in yielding to that tyrant,

* Probably Gardiner and Bonner.

he was enabled to carry on that scheme of reformation, which perhaps you regret, and in which I triumph. I lately turned to *Lingard*; and, upon the whole, I am much less dissatisfied with him than with yourself, so far as Cranmer is concerned; and I quite agree with Lingard, that, after Wolsey had lossed his ascendancy over the mind of Harry, his passions were more violent, and his crimes were more outrageous. Mr. Butler,—I read with distrust, the mutual reproaches of Romanists and Protestants, as they are called; and you may be assured, that in conversing with English divines, I often resist their attacks upon the church of Rome, even in events, which have long ago passed away. There is much to be forgiven in all parties. And how could it be otherwise in such a state of things?

I am most unwilling to stir the embers, especially at this time.——————

It compels me to fear, that amidst all the strong professions of liberality and moderation, and even with real progress in both, there is still lurking in the minds of many Romanists, a most invincible spirit of uncharitableness. When the fierce dispute was going on between *Archdeacon Sturges and Milner*, I often said to my clerical friend,

"*Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.*"

Little did I think that you, dear sir, would give me occasion to apply to the disputants of the day

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc Ombros et Tentyra, summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quòd numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus; cum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colit:

Why did you alloy the sweet and holy satisfaction, which I felt from the splendid victory of *Mr. Glover over the Bishop of Peterborough?* Why did you turn my mind upon the uncouth and dark characters of religious hatred? from that bright and richly coloured description, which closes one of your most useful books? I read it with rapture: I have produced and enforced it with enthusiasm; I saw in it the soundest philosophy and the purest religion. I embraced it with reverence, as a lesson upon earth. I wished to follow it with affection, as a guide to heaven. All my prejudices, if such they be, were most honourable to you. I know, and I shall ever be ready to admit, and even to maintain, that your talents are of a very high order—that your knowledge is extensive, various and profound. That in subjects of theology and law, you have holden up many useful truths—that your natural disposition is marked

by genuine kindness; and that in private life, your virtues are numerous, amiable and exemplary. I was therefore surprised and shocked at your description of Cranmer; and I tell you without disguise, that it has made upon my mind deep impressions, which cannot easily be effaced. Lately when I was in London, I bought the third and fourth volume of your work, and I intend within a month or two, to read them. In Mr. Butler, I did not expect to meet the slightest portion of that angry and infuriate intolerance, which, in the middle of the eighteenth century, contaminates the preface of Muratorius to his most useful collection of Roman Catholic *Sacramentaria*. I give him credit for sincerity, when he talks of Luther, as actually possessed by the devil. I acquit you of the grovelling superstition, which disgraces Muratorius. But there is another quality, less venial, in which I am grieved to think that you should, in the very slightest degree, resemble him. To a man so enlightened, so respectable, so eminently and so deservedly celebrated, I shall offer no apology for communicating my real thoughts. I have again and again, not only applauded but recommended your publications; and happy shall I be, if my perusal of your third and fourth volumes should again justify me in

retaining and avowing my approbation and my regard.

Pray have the goodness to tell me, what are the lines at the opening of the Georgics, upon which you once proposed to me a most ingenious and most satisfactory transposition.

I have the honour to be
Your well-wisher, &c.

SAMUEL PARR.

LETTER III.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Honoured Sir,

I CANNOT refuse myself the pleasure of writing to you, immediately upon the receipt of your letter, to express how much I feel myself honoured and obliged by it.

If I am wrong in my notions of Archbishop *Cranmer**, it was not for want of reading or meditating much on the subject; but, as I know that you are much better acquainted with the subject, and much more able to judge of it than I am, I am sensible of the possibility of my being in the wrong.

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* The Reverend H. J. Todd, Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, in his "Vindication of the Right Reverend "Thomas Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and "therewith of the Reformation in England, against some "of the Allegations, which have been recently made by "the Rev. Doctor Lingard, Doctor Milner, and Charles "Butler, Esq. 2d Edition, 8vo.", has criminated these gentlemen, for the charges brought by them against this patriarch of the established Church of England. To all the reverend gentleman's criminations, Mr. Butler, so far as they relate to him, has fully replied in the second edition of his "Vindication of the Book of the Roman-"Catholic Church."

I am flattered by your purchasing the two additional volumes: you will add to my obligation to you, by perusing,—in the second volume of them,

Chap. LXVIII. s. 1. pa. 231. On the Latitudinarian Divines.

LXXI. s. 2. pa. 270. On the Contest between the High Church and the Low Church.

LXXIV. pa. 287. On the Methodists, &c.

LXXVIII. pa. 361. On the Socinians.

Your perusal of these few pages of my work, and favouring me with your sentiments upon them, will be conferring upon me a favour, which will never escape my memory or my gratitude. I consider my literary career to be now finished. I have a pretty large volume of Reminiscences ready for the press; but I am not determined whether I shall publish them myself, or leave that task to my executors.

One word more upon Cranmer; Do you think that Juvenal's verses,

"*Ambiguæ si quando citabere testis,*"

can be applied to him with justice?

The transposition in Virgil, which I had the honour of mentioning to you, is in the exordium of the 2d Georgic: I suspect that the following verses,

Túque ades, inceptúmque unà decurre laborem,
O decus, ô famæ meritò pars maxima nostræ,
Mæcenas, pelagóque volans da vela patenti.
Non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto:
Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, orâque centum,
Ferrea vox:—ades, et primi lege litoris oram.
In manibus terræ: non hîc te carmine ficto,
Atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.

should immediately follow the following verses, which precede them at some distance:

Huc, pater ô Lenæc, veni: nudatáque musto
Tinge novo mecum direptis crura cothurnis.

Permit me, Sir, to avail myself of the opportunity of asking you,—if Virgil has not in many instances carried the language of his poetry, in his high polish of it, to the extreme verge of the Latin idiom; and whether, if he had carried a line further, it would not have been too Grecian? Have not the verses of Terence and Horace more of the true raciness of the Latin soil? But I am sensible that it does not become me even to entertain an opinion upon this subject.

Two-thirds of the third edition of my Historical Memoirs are printed. As soon as the work appears, I shall do myself the honour of transmitting it to you, for your acceptance of it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn, 9 Nov. 1821.

Dr. Parr.

LETTER IV.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

Hatton, 15th Nov. 1821.

Dear and learned Sir,

I THANK you for sending me the proposed transposition in Virgil; and I am yet more convinced of its propriety. It continues the Invocations, which are now strangely interrupted; and it is followed, as it ought to be, by the preceptive.

You are very right in supposing that VIRGIL carried the Roman language to its fullest extent; and that, by going a little farther, he might have gone too far. That language would not have supplied him with sufficient variety for epic composition, if he had confined himself to the poetical language formed by his predecessors. Upon this point, we can judge very well, by the fragments of *Ennius*, and by the heroics of *Catullus*, and yet more, by the ornamental parts of *Lucretius*. Doubtless, there are passages, which even the contemporaries of Virgil must have found somewhat dissimilar to vernacular idiom. The only resource Virgil had was in *Grecism*. But here we must distinguish. He, in more than a thousand places, takes his matter from Greek poets of various

ages; and more especially from the Homeric poems. He had before him the poets of the Alexandrian school; and I have had occasion to observe to scholars, that, in the structure and cadence of his verse, he resembles the writers of Alexandria, even more than the older writers of the Odyssey and Iliad.—True.—But pray observe, that, while he imitates the thoughts and almost the words of Greek poets, he does not adopt any Greek idioms: he employs those idioms, when, according to his own taste, he could employ them well; and I am quite certain that, when the Æneid came out, it was considered by his contemporaries, as a learned poem; and that according to their different tastes, the novelty of his Grecising phraseology pleased or displeased. Moreover, he indulged largely in the *hiatus*, as did the Greeks. The peculiarities to which I advert, appeared to him, and appear to me, beauties. Now and then they put a learner upon the stretch. But the last impression is always favourable. He has one peculiar and transcendental excellence. In many of his lines, and some even of his shorter sentences, the words are plain and familiar; and yet by the power of *synthesis*, they are graceful to the imagination and harmonious to the ear.

With this property of the poems, I should connect another of high merit. You will find it in his transitions from elaborate and grand language to a more familiar tone. Luckily for us, we can compare *Virgil* with *Lucan, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus,* and *Claudian.* Every one of them more or less imitates Virgil. But they seldom or never imitate him when he stretches his phraseology beyond the common and well known structure of the Latin tongue. *Silius Italicus* formed his very sentences and his rhythm on the model of Virgil. But even in *Silius Italicus,* we meet not with the qualities which I am now considering.

You are right in supposing, that HORACE does not abound with those seeming deviations from Latinity, or soaring above it, which I ascribe to Virgil. I have studied the λεξις and συνθεσις of Horace attentively, and I am charmed with them. But you must not forget, that even Horace now and then deliberately, and in conformity to the licentiousness of lyric poetry, had recourse to Grecism. I give you two instances:

——————— *desine mollium*
Tandem querelarum ———————

Again,

" *Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis.*"

Assuredly Horace felt that his own language

was far, far, far inferior to the Greek, in the boldness and variety of lyric diction; and, under that impression, he wrote his ode about *Pindar*, as a writer who could not be equalled, and talks of the *Nova verba*, rolling in Dithyrambics, and the "*numeri lege soluti.*"

Let us turn to other and weightier matters. The lines in Juvenal are most impressive. But no reader of history,—no observer of human events,—no searcher into the anecdotes of courts, will venture to deny that they are applicable to men of all ages, to ministers and generals, and kings and ecclesiastics. Do me the justice to remember, that I anticipated your remark about *Cranmer*, and stated explicitly, that amidst his arduous duties, life and death were considerations quite unworthy; and, at the same time, I contended, that, in many of his compliances, he was guided by another sense of duty in promoting the great cause of the Reformation. Mr. Butler, it is quite impossible for you or myself to suppose that, with such a monarch as Henry VIII., and in such a disturbed condition of things, civil and ecclesiastical, human wisdom and human virtue could in all cases have enabled any human being to preserve his innocence. I adopted Mr. Lingard's just observation, —that, upon the advantage which arose from the

influence of Cardinal Wolsey over the mind of Henry. But do you think it possible that Wolsey did not now and then, gain or preserve his ascendancy by a compliance which, *pro hac vice*, no good man would approve? If I were to take down my books, I could set in array a host of nuncios, legates, prelates, and doctors, who, in obedience to the Pope, and, with a view either to their own personal advantage, or the interests of the Church of Rome, committed faults and crimes*. He that knoweth the deceitfulness of the heart, will treasure up in his memory, and familiarise to his conscience, the language of Juvenal. We all of us need such aids. But there is abundant room for impartiality and candour, for large and correct views of agents, and the circumstances under which they act, before we pronounce a sentence of unqualified condemnation upon our fellow creatures. Your censures upon Cranmer, were the result of deliberation: they are accompanied by the strongest marks of effort: they are expressed in language most accurate and energetic: they are not without the aid of four italics: they are reinforced by some concessions, which follow them at no great distance. Above all, dear Sir, they lead, or as I

* This I acknowledge; and, in my writings, have repeatedly acknowledged.

should say, compel an attentive reader to contrast your lengthened and pointed charges against Cranmer, with the studied conciseness of your statements about Gardiner and Bonner.

Possible it is, that my own feelings were made more acute from my remembrance of the bitter and boisterous invectives of *Milner*,—I was sometimes upon his side in his controversy with *Archdeacon Sturges*; and more especially, I am with him upon the accursed Gunpowder Plot, for which James and his two ministers ought to have been decapitated. But in his last and laboured work, to which the Romanists bow down, his calumnies were unprovoked, and they are atrocious. Mark what he says more than once of Bishop Halifax's conversion, in his last moments, to the Church of Rome. Mark the stress which the members of your church avowedly lay on the language of men in their last moments. Mark the tales, which he tells us of Dean Rennel, whose learned son assures me that they are lies. Is this the language, which is intended to allay the fears and correct the prejudices of English protestants? No! no! I see none of these faults in Lingard. Oh! Mr. Butler, it pains me to associate your illustrious name with the name of Milner.

The finest specimen I know, of moderation and

Christian charity in polemical writers, is in the preface of *Montagu* Bishop of Norwich, to his *Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas.* Read it, say I, to Protestants and Romanists. It is the seventy-fifth paragraph. I do not take up my opinions from modern pamphleteers: I have learned my lesson in the Schools of *Bishop Andrews, Bishop Moreton, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Barrow, Bishop Montagu, Isaac Casaubon* in his *Answer to Baronius*; and I shall make a concession, which you will stare at, from a verbal critic, when I prefer *Montagu* to *Casaubon.* Let me not forget *the Answer of Archbishop Laud to Fisher. Laud* investigates, *Laud* reasons, *Laud* distinguishes, *Laud* reviles not; and surely you and I must sympathise in holy indignation, when we read, that, during the infamous trial of Laud, his candour to an adversary was one topic of accusation against him. Our friend, Mr. Denman, expresses a hope that you and I can effect between the two churches, what was in vain attempted by *Archbishop Wake* and some doctors of the Sorbonne; and Denman holds up the venerable name of *Bossuet.* With a deep sense of reverence to the learning, talents and virtues of the English and the French Prelates, I should consider them as men the most unlikely to reconcile differences. Their very sincerity

and zeal, and polemical talents, were, in a peculiar degree, obstacles to any scheme in which they were engaged. I trust in God, that my heart is undefiled by vulgar and virulent prejudices against the Church of Rome. But let my wishes be what they may, I look upon the union of the churches as morally impossible. Do not be angry with me: I read, with unfeigned sorrow and unfeigned assent, the acknowledgment of the pious *Jeremy Taylor*, that the attempts of *Grotius*, *Cassander* and others, for what Jeremy, in his learned phraseology, calls a *Synchretismus*, never will succeed. With what attention, and Oh! with what delight have I read the *Consultatio Cassandri*, the *Votum pro pace Ecclesiastica*, and the noble work of Grotius, *Rivetiani Apologetici Discussio*. I differed often in opinion, but I always harmonised in spirit with the Prefatio of *Cassander ad Cæsarem Carolum* V., and the *Confessio fidei Augustani*. Had I been a bishop, I should have quoted largely from the last mentioned book, in the discussions about civil and ecclesiastical power. You will find these writings in the fourth volume of the works of Grotius.

And now permit me to state a difficulty, and to ask a question. In page 556 of Grotius, Vol. IV, there is a Latin epitaph upon Cas-

sander. I am puzzled with two prefatory words, *Quando tandem.* They are, I suspect, the opening words of some well-known hymn in the Church of Rome. I have looked at many of those hymns, and I have also looked at the short beginnings of Psalms, inserted from the Vulgate, in the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. But I cannot find *Quando tandem.* Pray assist me. I rely much upon your own extensive reading; and if that be insufficient, I entreat you to make enquiries among learned ecclesiastics in your church. Mr. Butler,—when I have leisure, I shall read the third and fourth volumes of your history very seriously, and particularly the parts which you have pointed out. Well,—at the close of this letter, I feel somewhat refreshed from the remembrance of some of your other publications; and on the tablet of my memory is indelibly impressed the wise, benevolent, and evangelical conclusion of one.

I am, dear Sir, With great respect,
Your faithful well-wisher, and
obedient humble servant,
SAMUEL PARR.

Charles Butler, Esq.

LETTER V.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Dear Sir,

I RETURN you many sincere thanks for your most obliging letter. It will be conferring a very great favour upon me to permit me to print your two letters at the beginning of the edition now in the press, with the omission of the passages which relate to ———

I am highly flattered by your approbation of my conjectural emendations; your remarks on Virgil appear to me, to be perfect, and to have the merit of novelty. They should not be lost; how flattering to me will it be, if they are preserved in my humble publication.

Permit me to trouble you with another remark, but on a very different subject,—the celebrated mark of the beast, 666. You will find that it has at least the merit of inoffensiveness.

You are aware, that the Hebrew language does not contain any modification of an adjective, which expresses the comparative or superlative degree; but that it is effected by duplicating or triplicating the word.

You are also aware, that six is a perfect number; all the aliquot parts of it, 1, 2, 3, when

added together, forming its amount, as 1, 2, 4, 7, 14, form 28, the next perfect number.

Then, why should not 666 mean, that the signatures of this perfect number being thrice marked on his forehead, were to denote the superlative perfection, which he arrogated to himself. I need not mention to you, that the mystical import of numbers was familiar to the Platonist and Pythagorean schools, with which, after the Macedonian and Roman conquests, Asia abounded; and, in reference to whose theories, it might therefore be written.

I beg the favour of your acceptance of a complete edition of all my works. May I request to know how you wish them to be sent.

I will examine the "*Quando tandem*," in the epitaph, and trouble you with the result.

With the highest respect,
I have the honour to be
Your most obedient and
obliged humble Servant,
CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
17th Nov. 1821.

Dr. Parr.

LETTER VI.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

Dear Sir, Hatton, Dec. 5, 1821.

I THANK you for your kind and learned letter. I have in my library sixty or seventy volumes of criticism upon Hebrew: I have read many, and the result is, that my opinion is the same as that of Le Clerc.

As to the mystical numbers in the Apocalypse, I have read the ordinary commentators, and *Daubez* and *Newton*, and a Latin 4to, in which a skilful disputant of your church retorts upon the Protestants, the prophetic passages, which they had wielded against the Romanists. Now, the Apocalypse is in the canon of your church and mine; but I have no belief in its authenticity. The writer was a man of genius, and an enthusiast; and his mind was heated with the writings of *Zachariah* and *Ezekiel*. His rhapsody first became an instrument of annoyance with some poor Franciscans of your church, and the unhappy men were admonished, anathematised, imprisoned, scourged and burned. I really scream with laughter, when the renowned champion of double senses in prophecy, I mean *Warburton*, brandishes his para-

doxes and invectives upon a plain point of fact, in opposition to the historical statements of *Wetstein*. Though an orthodox divine, I cannot keep my countenance, when my Protestant guides most gravely find, that John anticipated and described the triple crown of Anti-christ.

Alas! if the registers of heraldry are pressed into our service, Boniface the Eighth had one coronet in 1295; Benedict the Twelfth added a second in 1335; and John the Twenty-third assumed a third in 1411. They had all one and the same view, to show, that the Pope is the sovereign priest, and sole *spiritual*, if not *temporal*, legislator among Christians. But I am heretical enough to doubt, whether John, in his visions, ever saw this progressive pageantry of pontifical coronations.

The Hebrew, as we call it, was an undisciplined tongue, and it could not be otherwise. But you will remember, that one of the most polished modern languages has no termination for comparatives and superlatives, as the words are commonly used. But I hold with *Scaliger*, that they are used improperly.—You will do me a great honour, aye, a very great one, by sending me your Works.—I have much upon my hands, and at this moment are lying before me four Greek volumes, in which I must read every

original word, every translation, and a series of notes, the most learned that have appeared in the country for more than a century. I must allot six weeks to the laborious task.—Pray tell me the proposed transposition in another passage of Virgil.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient Servant,

S. PARR.

Charles Butler, Esq.

LETTER VII.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

Hatton, January 24, 1822.

Dear and excellent Mr. Butler,

I AM going next week to Birmingham, and yesterday morning I desired the Oxonian, who is obliging enough to be my scribe, to get down the two last volumes of your History, that I might read them attentively, while my mind was not embarrassed and annoyed by the numberless avocations to which, as he knows, I am here exposed.

To your former book I have assigned a respectable place on the north side of my smaller library, which is chiefly furnished with theological books in English, while the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, are in my larger library.

The noble present of your Works came to me safely; and they were placed by my amanuensis in a situation, where I can easily find them, on the west side of the little library, and they are soon to be taken down and improved by a proper binding. I thank you for them again and again. I shall write in them something not quite disproportionable to the solid and splendid merits of the author; and I have a sort

of pride in thinking, that they who come after me, will find that I was honoured with such valuable attentions from such an enlightened and distinguished contemporary as Mr. Butler.

Lately I have drawn up three elaborate sermons upon the Sacrament; and I am convinced that his holiness the Pope would be half disposed to bestow his blessing upon a heretic, when he saw either the matter or the spirit of my discourses. I wish to ask you a favour; Three or four years ago, a furious and fiery Irishman put into my hands a little book, in which he had judiciously and faithfully collected the opinions of some English Protestant divines, who wrote about the Corporeal Presence, soon after the Reformation. The name of the R. C. gentleman is Talbot; and to be sure I never saw a more angry and abusive anti-protestant. But his book contained much truth; for, most assuredly, our theologians, for a considerable time, held language and opinions upon the subject to which I advert, not very widely different from the language and opinions of your church. The book was a little close printed duodecimo. I was instructed and interested by the contents. I previously was aware of the general fact, and I rejoiced to be in possession of such numerous proofs,

Have you seen the book? Can you get it for me from some of your Dublin friends? As a lover of truth and a lover of peace, I wish it to be more extensively known; and you will take notice, that Mr. Talbot, in this little work, has wisely and laudably restrained the violence of his temper. I mentioned the book to some very sensible clergymen. I have lent it, and I cannot recover it. But I am very anxious indeed to have it continually within my reach, and to avoid the trouble of gathering together the passages which are now scattered in other books of mine.

You may find from my Letter to Mr. Denman, that I neither expect nor desire any external union between the churches of Rome and England. It cannot be effected without concessions, which neither of them ought to make. But why should either of them cherish any lurking ill-will? Why, on a broader view of the question, should the religious tenets of the Romanists be made a plea for excluding them from useful and honourable situations, as the members of a civilized society? No circumstance in the opposition made to them, is so provoking to me, as the blind, infuriate hostility of the two Universities, which our Romanist forefathers most

meritoriously founded and endowed. Here my heart sometimes glows with indignation, and sometimes bleeds with anguish.... My scribe can tell you, that your letters are put with many others into a box, which is sometimes examined, that the contents may be better arranged. You will save me trouble, by telling me once more the other passage in Virgil, upon which your opinion is, that it would be improved by transposition. When I look back to what has been done within these 50 or 60 years for the Hebrew bible and the Septuagint, I respectfully and thankfully acknowledge, that the Romanists have been most praiseworthy auxiliaries, in promoting the general cause of religious knowledge. To be sure, dear Sir, on consulting your Vulgate, I am very much amused with the far-fetched reasons which have been assigned to justify the introduction of the word *mystery* in your administration of the elements. MSS. give you no help. But I am told, that some of your doctors take shelter in tradition. We retain the word in another sense, and two most learned Protestants have explained the origin and import of the word. Yet I wish it banished from my church, and whensoever I have pronounced the word, I

have expressed some disapprobation of it, and substituted a more intelligible and more defensible word.

I am happy to tell you, that some of my learned acquaintance are delighted with the proposed transposition in the Georgics, and I want to insert both in some edition of Virgil, and to adorn the transposition with the name of the excellent person to whom I am indebted for it.

If you drink wine, pray fill a bumper to my health on Saturday next, when, with the blessing of God, I shall have completed my seventy-fifth year.

I have the honour to be,

With real and great respect,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful well-wisher, and

obedient humble Servant,

S. PARR.

LETTER VIII.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Most honoured and dear Sir,

I RETURN you many thanks for your letter, which I received this morning. I present you my sincere congratulations on your having reached the 75th year of your honourable and useful life. We have drank your health, as you kindly desired; and permit me to assure you, that it has been no where drank with more respect or sincerity.

I send you what I believe to be the pamphlet you mention: if it be not, I will endeavour to procure it.

I never had any notion that the re-union of Christians was practicable. My object in what I've written upon the subject is to show, that the differences between them are neither so great, nor so numerous as they are generally considered. To soften the asperities of controversy, and to bring every denomination of Christians into good humour with the others, and to acknowledge and respect the sincerity of the others, has been my aim, and I sometimes flatter myself with the hope, that my endeavours have not been absolutely fruitless.

You will receive, in the course of next week, the third edition of my Historical Memoirs. They contain all that is in the former editions, and much more. It will be extremely pleasing to me to receive your opinion of them. The tables of contents are very ample; so that, without difficulty, you may find what you particularly wish to see.

About Easter you will receive my *Reminiscences*, containing several anecdotes of the most remarkable persons of our times; with an account of my writings, interspersed with observations, which may be thought to flow naturally from them.

Permit me to recommend a similar composition of yourself. It would enable you to consign to immortality a multitude of curious facts and observations, which will otherwise be lost to posterity, and the recording of which must, I think, afford you great delight. May I hope to hear that you are engaged in such a publication.

I am much gratified by your approval of my observations upon Virgil, and requiring to be informed of that which I last mentioned to you.

I must request you to read from the beginning of the third Georgic to the forty-ninth line, at

which my observation begins; but it is a little affected by the former verses.

At the forty-ninth line—

" Seu quis, Olympiacæ miratus præmia palmæ,"

the poet advises those, who aspire to the Olympian palms, to pay particular attention to the bodies of the mothers of the steed. In the 95th and 96th verses, he particularly directs that the fathers should be young; and pursues this subject till the 118th and 119th verses, in which he appears finally to impress this precept on his readers. After these, three verses follow:—

" Quamvis sæpe fugâ versos ille egerit hostes,
" Et patriam Epirum referat, fortesque Mycenas;
" Neptunique ipsâ deducat origine gentem."

These three verses I consider either to be spurious, or to be transposed from the 96th verse, between which and the 97th, they should be inserted.

Observations of this kind rather speak to the feelings and to the judgment, than to the reasoning faculty. I shall therefore only ask, to what the word " *Quamvis*," as the verses are placed, can, with any propriety, be referred?

It would give me great pleasure to print, in my Reminiscences, those parts of your letters which relate to these passages, and to Virgil in

general, and even that part of them which relate to Archbishop Cranmer. Nothing can be so honourable or so useful to his family, as that it should be known that you are, at least in a qualified sense, his defender.

The consonancy of the doctrine of the earliest Protestant writers with that of the moderate Roman Catholics, appears in no work so well as in "Brereley's Apology." I am not possessed of it, but I could borrow it for you, if you wish to see it.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged, &c.

C. BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
28th Jan. 1822.

LETTER IX.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

Dear and truly excellent Mr. Butler,

PLUTARCH, whom I rank among the wisest and the most learned men, and the most virtuous of the writers of antiquity, has left an admirable treatise, with this title, περὶ τὸ ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνευς, and if he were living, he would consider your Reminiscences as an additional and illustrious proof of his own principles. The word "Reminiscences" is almost neoteric; and, to my taste, it has not been quite pleasing, from the artificial and luxurious cookery, which Lord Orford employed upon his dainty Reminiscences. The work, which you have set before me, contains most wholesome food for curiosity, for reflection, and the best moral properties of the human mind. This, I shall say to your critics; and, turning round to yourself, I should add, Plutarch wrote another dissertation, πῶς ἄν τις αἰσθοιτο ἑαυτῷ προκοπτοντος επ' ἀρετῃ. Your book will justify you in bringing your studies, your writings, your knowledge, your integrity, and your piety, to the test which Plutarch lays down. I was charmed and I was interested with the varied scenes which you

have set before me; and sure I am, that by the guidance of heaven, you will carry through life, and preserve, in the hour of death, the precious and sacred testimony of an approving conscience. There are no traps for surprise; there is no artifice in statement; there is no tumult in diction; there is no self-conceit in the spirit. The reader, if he be a man of learning and a man of virtue, must esteem you, must respect you, must love you, and wish to resemble you. I could not lay the book down for a moment.

Now, dear sir, in page 7, you assign to Horace a verse written by Juvenal:

Esse aliquos Manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, & Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Atque unâ transire vadum tot millia cymbâ,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.
Sat. III. 150.

Your account of John Wilkes and Lord Sandwich quite agrees with my own opinion. When I was young, the apostasy of Pulteney had not ceased to be a subject of conversation; and, at this hour, I read with rapture *the Ode of Akenside to Curio.*

During Lord North's administration I was in company with the secretary of state, and some other great officers, and I fiercely attacked the fashionable and mischievous distinction of the

king's friends. To you I am indebted for the fact, that the distinction originated in Lord Bath's counsels. There were no distinct vestiges of it before the public eye, while Geo. II. was upon the throne.

You have written very sensibly about the author of Junius; and we must allow that the pamphlet, which ascribes the book to Sir Philip Francis, and Brougham's critique upon it, contain very striking probabilities; but they make little impression upon my mind; for I, for these forty years, have had the firmest conviction that Junius was Mr. Lloyd, brother of Philip Lloyd, dean of Norwich and secretary to George Grenville. My information came from two most sagacious observers; and when I spoke to the second, I did not tell him what I had previously heard from the first. One of my witnesses was Dr. Farmer, a most curious, indefatigable, acute searcher in literary anecdote, and he spoke with confidence unbounded; the other was a witness of a yet higher order, who opposed, and I think confuted Junius, upon the Middlesex election. He was a most wary observer, and a most incredulous man indeed. He had access, not to great statesmen, but to the officers who were about the House of Commons and the House of Lords. He rested neither

day nor night, till he had made his discovery; and there lives not the human being, upon whose judgment I could rely more firmly for a fact. When you and I meet I will tell you the whole story. Let us pursue this subject when we meet; for all I shall now add upon it is, that a very sagacious gentleman of Ireland, who died last year, had, from other premises, worked out the same conclusion. I could, with little effort, refute all that has been said about single-speech Hamilton, Edmund Burke, Leonidas, Glover, and Sir Philip Francis. You reason very well in page 15, upon *stile*.... I was much instructed, by what you say in page 21, upon Entails in France; and with great exertion, I understood your statement upon the difference between the English and the French laws. I read your account of Mr. *Fearne*, with seriousness and almost sorrow. *Hargrave* lent me his book. Not being a professional man, I was continually foiled by the *Essay of Contingent Remainders*. But I saw enough to convince me, that his powers of reasoning were gigantic; and knowing that he had been persecuted* by Lord Mansfield, I had very

* Here Doctor Parr was misinformed; Lord Mansfield did not persecute Mr. Fearne. An imperfect tribute

painful feelings in the transition from *Fearne* to *Murray*.—I have now and then looked into cases, where *Mansfield* presided; and I am nearly but not quite blind as to his talents. You rate *Loughborough* higher than I do. We quite agree about *Lord Camden* and *Sir William Grant*. Your observations upon *Mr. Hume*, are very judicious. I prefer *Dunning*. I never heard such a reasoner. I love *Grattan*, and to some extent I admired him.....What you say upon the taste of an Athenian and a Roman audience, is very right; and I have often maintained, that an English audience is far superior to either.....Your *Horæ Biblicæ* will immortalize your fame. You have done justice, and no more than justice to your church, upon the liberty given to laymen to read a translation of the Bible. Pray finish your intended *Life of Christ*, and your History of the *Binomial Theorem*. I admire *Bossuet* and *Fénélon*, as much as you do. I once entered warmly into the controversy about the Quietist; *Fénélon* was in fact a fanatic, and what we call a Methodist. But his genius and his

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to his memory is paid by the Reminiscent, in his preface to his edition of Mr. Fearne's "Essay on Contingent Remainders."

piety are above all praise. *Lingard's work on the Anglo Saxon Church*, is the best I have ever seen. You do not expect me to go with you about *Becket*? We are nearer to each other upon the *Bishop of Lincoln**. You are too good a catholic about *Wickliffe* and *Huss*. I love *Fisher* and *More*. You have taught me to hate Harry the Eighth more than ever. I dare not say you have been too indulgent to *Wolsey*; but on consideration and reconsideration, I am dissatisfied and even displeased with your account of *Cranmer*. It is quite unworthy of your general candour. You will please Romanists; and knowing the weaknesses and prejudices of the human mind, I wonder not, that you and they have marked him out for a victim. Mr. Butler, —I dare not tell you my indignant feelings. The third volume, upon the whole, has given me most valuable information. I hate *Queen Bess* more than you do. For once, I agree with Sir *Walter Scott*, about priests and traitors. Your History of the *Gunpowder Plot*, is temperate and fair. I cannot quite make up my

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* Grosseteste.—A full account of this extraordinary personage is given by the Reminiscent; in his "Historical "Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics," Vol. I. Ch. VIII. p. 53,

mind about *Father Garnett**. I wish that all my Protestant brethren would read what you say about the oath of allegiance. You are more gentle than I should be, to *James*. I was pleased with your blow at Ulysses, in your 4th volume. Oh! Mr. Butler, how happy should I be to find that my clerical brethren were serious as I am, in reading your book. *Leander* is a noble fellow! I was particularly pleased with page 40, vol. iv. And now I must desire you, and must earnestly desire you, I must repeatedly desire you, to send me the book which you mention, upon the opinions of the earlier reformers, as resembling in many instances the tenets of the Church of Rome. Pray find it for me, pray send it to me, pray give it to me. Talbot's book is now and then flippant and furious. But there are facts, which are now quite forgotten by the adversaries of the Church of Rome. My scribe knows the reasons of my importunity. What you say of *Panzani* is valuable. Charles I. deceived you. There is much eloquence, but something more than truth, in what Bossuet says of *Cromwell*. I, without any qualification, assent to your praise of the catholics for their loyalty to the Stuart

* Much light is thrown on the Gunpowder Plot, by the account given of it by Doctor Lingard, in his excellent history.

family. Many and many a time have I insisted upon it. Poor *Blacklo!* No part of the book interests me so much as the *Address of Sir John Arundel and the Apology by Lord Castlemain or Dr. Pugh.* I do not go the same length with you, in favour of *James* II. The account of his death can hardly be read without tears. You are more indulgent than I should be, to that execrable wretch, *Charles* II.

There is much good sense in the Historical minute of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance. The *Nonjurors* remained in Scotland for these twenty years, but they are now melted down. I like your account of the *Latitudinarian Divines**; and you may put me down in the number. But I am sorry to say, that they were too severe against the Romanists. I do not wonder at the violence of orthodox ecclesiastics, who

* The ever memorable John Hales, of Eaton, seems to have been the Patriarch of these illustrious men.—An account of their school would be a valuable present to the literary world.—But, as Doctor Parr remarks, in the text, they were unjust to the Roman-catholics. "The different "sects of Protestants," says Doctor Sturges, in his *Considerations on the present state of the Church Establishment*, p. 35, "had no notion of Christianity in any other form "than their own, and into this they thought it lawful to "oblige all others to concur. Popery, as their common "enemy, and of the most dangerous kind, was treated, and "*justly treated* by them, with the utmost severity."

come nearer to you in doctrine; but it is remarkable that in our own days, even the heterodox were your unrelenting enemies; *Hoadly* was so; *Jortin* was so; *Archdeacon Blackburn* was so; and even my friend, *Dr. John Jebb*, was too vehemently an anti-catholic. Once, in a vigorous and even a vehement conversation with him, I pointed out his inconsistency. He saw it like a wise man; he felt it like a good man. My friend,—why, in page 259, do you talk of *imputed* attachment to the exiled family? It was a sincere attachment; it was a notorious attachment; it was an honourable attachment; but it justified restraint. The Whigs will applaud you for your History of George II. *Boyle, Leibnitz*, and *Locke*, were laymen; but how comes it about, that John Hales, of Eaton, and Bishop Taylor* are passed by? Most certainly, their principles were favourable to Toleration. I mourn for *Grotius*, as I also mourn for *Cranmer*. They were frail creatures, and so are you and I.

Ward's book was republished in Ireland, and this was a mischievous measure. A very good

* The Reminiscent has repeatedly mentioned Dr. Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophecying," as a powerful work in favour of Religious Toleration;—The Rights of Conscience are explicitly propounded by Mr. Hales, of Eaton.

answer was written by the late Provost of Dublin, who is now a bishop. My mind was made up upon reading a most able book, written by Waterland. Alas! all my wishes for *Syncretism*, have at last fainted away, from despair. But if your church and mine cannot agree, why should we hate each other?...I like your chapter upon *Jansenism*. But remember, that I am against the Jesuits, and therefore, perhaps, against you....You have shewn great adroitness in your History of the Methodists, Antinomians, and Moravians.

In regard to the *Socinians* and *Unitarians*,—you have been very temperate. *Servetus* was only an *Arian*. *Calvin* ought to be damned for twenty years. The Unitarians are more numerous than you seem to suspect. You should have said a little more about the distinctions between the Unitarians and Socinians. Do you remember *Locke*'s dexterous evasion from the charge of Socinianism? You will find it in his defence of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. *Boyle* was, I think, a trinitarian. *Vanini* was a lunatic; and his murderers were worthy of hell. I lately read a defence of *Spinoza*, from the charge of Atheism. I have often been amused, to think that *Boyle*, the sceptic, encouraged the opinion unfavourable to Spinoza. He under-

rates Spinoza's abilities, and if I understand Spinoza, Bayle is not always fair to his reasoning, yet I am compelled to acknowledge, that Spinoza was an atheist; and it is a word which I rarely use in the way of accusation. It is plain to me, that *Lord Herbert of Cherbury* more than doubted the truth of Christianity: but he was a learned, he was an acute, he was a virtuous, he was a pious man; and besides all this, he was an enthusiast, a credulous enthusiast.

Why do you follow Hume in representing *Raleigh* as an infidel? For Heaven's sake, dear Sir, look to his preface to his History of the World *: Look at his Letters, in a little 18mo.; and here, but here only, you will find a Tract, which led Hume to talk of Raleigh as an unbeliever. It is an epitome of the principles of the old sceptics; and to me, who, like *Dr. Clarke*, and *Mr. Hume*, am a reader of *Sextus Empiricus*, it is very intelligible. Indeed, Mr. Butler, it is a most ingenious performance. But mark me well:—It is a mere *lusus ingenii*.

You know there is no doubt as to the authenticity of *the Confession of Faith ascribed to Lord Bacon*. I am perplexed with it. Was he se-

* Mr. Fox assured the Reminiscent, that either he, or Mrs. Fox to him, had read aloud, the whole, with a small exception, of Sir Walter Raleigh's History,

rious? I mean serious all through? Does he mean it for a *tentamen*? What inference would Hume have drawn from it? By the way, Mr. Butler, I, as a Protestant, am delighted with Bacon's writings on Church controversies, and the pacification of the church. All parties may profit by them. Upon the whole, I think Bacon serious all through. I think that he did believe all the mysteries which he enumerates. But now comes a real difficulty. What shall we say to "*the Character of a believing Christian in paradoxes and seeming contradictions?*" Here I am quite at a loss to determine. If an ingenious man means to deride the belief of Christianity, could he have done it more effectually than in the work just now alluded to? Mr. Hume would say—No. There is some uncertainty as to the authenticity of this little tract. I suspect that Bacon meant to try his strength, and then to return quietly to the habitual conviction of his mind, that Christianity is true. You have done well, very well indeed, in chapters 78, and 79. The anecdotes are charming. Mr. Butler, though you stood high before in my estimation, these memoirs raise you yet higher. But what will be their effect upon the enemies of the Romanists? Quite the reverse of what you and I should wish. I do not change my

opinions upon that which is now due to you, and which can be given to you safely, because even upon your own shewing, there is too much wiliness, and too much spirit of intolerance in your church, as well, let me add, as in my own. But depend upon it, you will make very few converts among my brethren, though you enlighten and console your fellow sufferers. I shall recommend the book to men of reflection and integrity, and candour and christian charity. But I dread the possible effects of it upon such men as are now opposed to you. Fortunately nearly all the sectarians, except Methodists, are now favourable to your cause. But I entreat you to be more cautious than ever, in your applications to Parliament. Lingard is your ablest champion; and is more than a match for any or all of his opponents..... I wish he lived in my neighbourhood.

Warburton was against the Roman Catholics, but I am inclined to think that, if he were now beginning to write, he would have been friendly to you. The political reasons which influenced *Hoadly*, have nearly ceased.

I cannot quite answer for *Middleton*. By the way I ought to tell you that I hold with Middleton, that there is no good evidence of miracles after the apostolic age. Here, I take my stand.

But you have put a grovelling question to the orthodox churchmen of the last century. If they admit miracles in the second and third centuries, what ground have they for rejecting the history of the succeeding centuries? I say with you, they have no just ground; and here *Middleton* confounded his opponents. He always told them, that they would put a staff into the hands of the Romanists.

Oh! Mr. Butler, how affecting, how very affecting is your account of the French ladies, who perished under the guillotine, and continued to chant their holy songs. I almost wished to be a martyr. I could scarce refrain from tears. Do not suppose that I shall ever forget your small community of Carmelites. My general objections are good, though I agree with Leibnitz, that the Jesuits have sometimes been calumniated. I pay great deference to Thuanus, and I think his preface a most admirable defence of Toleration.

I lately read the Trial of Lord Stafford. The sentence is horrible, and his sovereign ought to have been hanged. Remember, I shall never forget your plain answer, in page 358. I know not a scene in Shakspeare's plays, which interests me more than the tale which you tell in pages 378 and 379. Such a scene, as I said

just now, would half make me a convert. You remember what Hume said, when he read *Mackenzie's History of the Swiss Pastor.* I adore the wisdom and the benevolence of the Deity, in so forming the human mind, that we cast behind us, all scholastic subtleties, all philosophical refinements, all religious prejudices, when there comes before us a tale, which strikes at once upon the natural, the purest, and the holiest feelings of the heart..... Farewell! We cannot worship together upon earth; but I hope that we shall meet again in Heaven; and so again, I say, farewell..... Mr. Butler, with so many weightier matters before me, I had not time to tell you, that your style is correct, perspicuous, pure, often elegant, often impressive, never tumid, and never affected.

I have the honour to be,
With unfeigned regard and respect,
Your unfeigned friend and obedient
humble servant,
SAMUEL PARR.

I have not time to revise.

LETTER X.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Learned, reverend and dear Doctor Parr,
I KNOW not what thanks to give you for your most obliging and friendly Letter. I have borrowed for you *Brerely's Apology*. I send it to you by the Warwick mail. I have directed my bookseller to make the most diligent search for a copy of it, and if he finds it, which I trust he will, I shall request your acceptance of it. In a few days my Reminiscences will be published, and I shall request your acceptance of them.

With the greatest respect,
I have the honour to be,
Your most obliged and most humble Servant,
CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
2d March 1822,

Dr. Parr.

LETTER XI.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Reverend and dear Sir,

THIS accompanies the new edition of the Reminiscences. They are so much enlarged as to be almost a new work. I was highly gratified by your approbation of the first edition, and it will be a great satisfaction to me to hear from you, that you approve of the present.

I set a very great value on the letters which I have received from you; and I shall consider it a singular favour, if you would permit me to publish them in the next edition of the Reminiscences,—inserting all you have written in them respecting Archbishop Cranmer.

What you have written in them, respecting the latinity of Virgil, is important, and so far as my limited knowledge of the subject goes, is new. Posterity should not be deprived of it. I have great reason to think, that the work will reach a second edition very soon. It would be most honourable to me, that it should be accompanied by your letters.

You will see in the Reminiscences, much new matter on the subject of *Junius*. Some persons, both of rank and literary talent, agree with you respecting the author. It would be conferring

a great favour upon me, and communicating valuable information to the public, if you would favour me with a short mention of the facts and reasons, which induce you to ascribe them to Lloyd. I think the letters are a production of the Grenville school, and of some person attached to the memory of the late Lord Holland; and I must repeat, that I think Burke and Sir Philip Francis altogether out of the question.

There is little doubt of the authenticity of the private correspondence between him and Woodfall, but in this there is nothing remarkable. This confirms my idea, that Junius wrote with great difficulty.

I hope you will excuse me for presuming to ask these favours:—As an apology, I beg leave to say, that I am perfectly sensible how great they are.

What a scene of mean talent, and sordid corruption, is exhibited in *Lord Orford's Memoirs!* I waded through the first volume, but I had not courage to begin the second.

With the greatest respect,

I have the honour to be;

&c. &c. &c.

Lincoln's-Inn, CHARLES BUTLER.
28th March 1822.

Dr. Parr.

LETTER XII.

Dr. Parr to Mr. Butler.

April 9th, 1822.

Dear and excellent Mr. Butler,

I BEGAN your Reminiscences on Sunday afternoon. I resumed and finished them on Monday morning. The charm was irresistible. You have now a yet stronger hold than before, upon my regard, and my respect.

You have made a mistake in page 295. *Est quodam prodire tenus.* The line is often quoted, and seldom rightly. You must always say "*quâdam,*"– the feminine ablative, and you may understand *parte,* and so it is with *si quâ* and *in quâ*.....I told you, some time ago, that you had ascribed to Horace a line written by Juvenal.....I am more and more convinced and delighted about the transposition which you first proposed; but I totally dissent from the second, where your printer has blundered by putting "*egent*" for "*egerit.*" The three lines are not unworthy of Virgil, in the trinity, or in poetical flow. Perhaps *nomen* is a better word than *gentem,* but this is of little consequence. I have twice followed your directions in reading from verse 48 to verse 123. Now, after 48,

the matter seems to me continued with perfect propriety. He is speaking of cows and bulls, from line 51 to line 62 inclusive. "*Cætera nec fœturæ habilis, nec fortis aratris.*" Now, the three suspected, evidently belong to a horse, and this circumstance shews that they cannot be placed between the 62d and the 63d. I feel no difficulty in "*quamvis,*" while the lines stand as they do. The *magistri*, who had the care of feeding the horse, were to look for the *equum juvenem, calidumque animis, et cursibus acrem.* They were to look for these properties of youth, spirit, swiftness and vigour, in their motions; they were to consider them as indispensable: Though the animal had gained prizes at the games, though he was born at Epirus or Mycenæ, countries famous for horses, and though he was of a high breed, through many progenitors. This is the obvious meaning; and youth was particularly insisted upon, because Virgil again and again insists upon keeping up a good breed. Pray, dear Sir, read the note of *Heyne*;—*In utroque equorum usu, nimirum et equestri hoc, cursus quadrigarumque, et admissionis illo* (*sic sententiarum ordo,* v. 95, *postulat,*) *juventus omnium maximè et vigor juvenilis spectatur; nec refert, eum jam multis præliis interfuisse et præclaro genere aut stirpe*

esse ortum; nisi scilicet juvenilis ætas adsit. I have answered your question about *quamvis*. But if the three lines were placed as you suggest, no human being could answer my question, to what does "*Ille*" refer?.... I am very well pleased with the six Latin verses, written when the first stone of the magnificent church of St. Génévieve, at Paris, was placed (page 89). There is great, very great spirit in the French verses*. I care not for the hypercritic, who quarrels with

"Cris impuissans, fureurs bizarres."

The poet felt so, and the reader sympathises with the poet. I don't understand the end of your note, where you quote the Greek proverb,

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* The verses, to which Doctor Parr alludes, are these:

"Templum augustum, ingens, reginâ assurgit in urbe,
"Urbe, et patronâ virgine digna domus;
"Tarda nimis pietas! vanos moliris honores!
"Non sunt hæc cæptis tempora digna tuis.
"Ante Deo in summâ quam templum exstruxeris arce,
"Impietas templis tollet et urbe Deum.

"Paris! 'sur tes murs un grand temple s'éléve;
"Temple, digne de toi et de sainte Généviéve!
"Tardive piété! d'un vain zèle saisi,
"Paris! pour çe projet quelle temps a tu choisi!
"Avant que pour ton Dieu çe monument s'achéve,
"L'impiété chez toi, dominant en çe lieu,
"Des temples, de tes murs aura chassé ton Dieu.

Βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσης*. I will give you the Latin translation of Michael Apostolius. The proverb is used "*De iis quibus liberè loqui non licet. Quadrat autem in rhetores, qui nummos accipiunt, ne quempiam accusent sed silentium agant.* The same words occur in *Diogenianus.* You have a further account in *Zenobius. Proverbium in eos qui liberè loqui non possunt vel quia mutum hoc animal; vel ab Atheniensium nummo cui bos insculptus, quem liberius æquo loquentes pendere cogebantur.* You may apply the proverb to many a scoundrel in the House of Commons, whom a minister bribes to hold his tongue: but how is it applicable to any part of your note? You will remember, that upon the Greek coin there was the impression of a *bos.*

Your account of *Junius* is very entertaining; but I tell you, and peremptorily I tell you, that the real Junius was secretary to George Grenville, of whom you cannot forget, that, having ceased to be prime minister, he was so provoked as to attend an angry county meeting *in Bucks.* The name of Junius was *Lloyd.*———Lord Grenville knows, the late Marquis of Buckingham once dropped three or four significant words; but I will tell you more when we meet

* I used it as a Greek version of the words "Irish Bull."

in London. I go thither next week, and we must contrive to meet at the house of our friend Mr. Denman.....Again, I thank you for your book. It really has a magic power over my mind.....I will bring up with me the old and inestimable quarto———

And I remain, dear Sir,

With great respect,

Your friend and obedient humble Servant,

SAMUEL PARR.

Charles Butler, Esq.

LETTER XIII.

Mr. Butler to Dr. Parr.

Dear Sir,

I AM greatly obliged by your letter. You have flattered me so much, by approving one of my criticisms upon Virgil, that I must trouble you with one upon Horace.

I was lately present at a conversation, in which a gentleman of acknowledged taste, asserted, that Horace's Odes were greatly overrated. Sir Henry Englefield immediately declared, that he had long been of this opinion. A prelate of your church differed from him; I felt that I was not entitled to a voice in the controversy: I therefore remained silent; but preserved my admiration of the Odes.

I have since mentioned this subject to a very competent judge; and, to my great surprise, found, that he sided with those who call in question their superlative merit. All, however, agreed, that many of them were excellent, and that all abound with passages of great beauty.

Permit me to trouble you with two more queries. Am I right in thinking that Homer had more taste than Virgil? Consider the latter's interview between Æneas and Helen, his Fable

of the Harpies; his making Helenus mistake the import of an oracle; his introduction of the Minotaur into the Sybils picture gallery; and his representation of Tatius, on the shield of Æneas. Am I right in admiring the great skill and tact of Pope, who, while he contrives to elevate some of the simple and homely narratives of Homer's muse, always keeps from burlesque. The more I read Pope's translation of Homer, the more I am pleased with it. May I adventure to say, that I should prefer a good prose translation of the original to any translation of it, either in blank verse or rhyme.

Boileau, who was very religious, one day took *La Fontaine*, the fabulist, to the parish mass. Finding him grow weary, Boileau put into his hand a volume of the Old Testament, which he happened to have in his pocket. It contained *the Prophecy of Baruch*. La Fontaine began to read it, and was instantly absorbed in admiration. "O que çela est beau! "Mais çela est superbe! Qui est çe *Baruch*? "C'est un genie superieur." These were his exclamations while he remained in the church. During several following days, he asked every literary person he met, "Avez vous le *Baruch*? "Lisez le, Lisez le, je vous conjure? Il faut "le choisir membre de l'Académie."

La Fontaine's simplicity makes this story credible. I can easily conceive his instantaneous enthusiasm: but, if Pope had translated Baruch, in his best manner, and La Fontaine, (thoroughly understanding it), had read the translation, would he have felt this enthusiasm?

May I suggest, that a good translation in prose, of a poem written *in the high style* of poetry, will always give, to a really poetical reader, a better notion of the poetry of the original, than any translation of it into rhyme or blank verse, however well executed. Could any metrical translation of the meeting of Æneas and Andromache, give as good an idea of the original, as a translation of it in prose? Such passages may be translated into English prose; but I doubt the possibility of translating them into the French language, without losing their beauty. The French is a *language of phrase:* hence without extreme care, and extreme care cannot always suffice, prettiness is sure to find its way into every French composition, either in verse or in prose. "La Mothe has at length "succeeded in making Homer witty," was Boileau's sarcastic, but just remark on that gentleman's translation of Homer. May it not be applied, in some degree, to de Lisle's translations both of Virgil and Milton?

I am obliged to you for rectifying my quotation. I have too often quoted from memory. You once gave me hopes that we should see a life of Dr. Johnson, from your pen. *Anni prædantur euntes.* Don't let time steal you from us, before you give us these Sermons. I shall devour them when they appear.

With the greatest respect,
I have the honour to be
Your obliged humble Servant,
CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
20th June 1822.

LETTER XIV.

Mr. Butler to E. H. Barker, Esq.

Dear Sir,

It gives me great pleasure to find, that Dr. Parr's papers are put into your hands, with a view to a publication of those which you shall think interesting. The Doctor has bequeathed me a ring. I was frequently in his company, and he shewed me many kind attentions.

I thought him well read in divinity, and a profound classical scholar. He spoke to me of the *Latitudinarian Divines* with approbation: he agreed with me in thinking, that the most brilliant æra of the British church, since the Reformation, was when the church abounded with the divines of that school. He observed to me, that while they respected antiquity, they were without bigotry, and that their liberality did not degenerate into indifference. He mentioned a Mr. Lowth, (a brother, I think, of the late bishop), as the last of their number. After that the Hoadleyans, he said, seized on the temple, and gave the law too much.

He considered *Dr. Conyers Middleton* as a concealed infidel; he was a great admirer of his style; and used to repeat passages in his works,

with very pleasing animation. But do not low words and affected phrases too often occur in Middleton's writings? *Cicero* appeared to me, the writer most frequently in Dr. Parr's mind: he once expatiated, where I was present, on the inconceivable perfection of the style of *Demosthenes:* observing at the same time, that it required twenty years hard study of the Greek language, to be capable of perceiving and relishing his beauties. He once recommended me to read *Valerius Flaccus,* as a poet, abounding with the most beautiful passages, though too often inflated. He lamented the reduction of *the present edition of Stephen's Thesaurus,* to its actual contracted scale.

He was an enthusiastic admirer of *Burke* and *Johnson.* He projected a life of the latter. "The materials for it," he said, "*are* now "collected;" a "mind, congenial to the doc-"tor's own, has not yet reduced them into "a proper form." But is it not probable that such a mind would give us too much of his own, at the expense of the doctor's?

I found him less acquainted than I expected with the modern Latin poems of France and Italy. *Santueil's Poems,* I had the pleasure of putting into his hands, and he admired them greatly. He spoke of *Dr. Lingard's History,*

with great approbation. You will find in one of the Doctor's letters, which I send you, his commendation of Dr. Lingard's impartiality at my expense. It turns on our respective representations of the deeds and character of *Archbishop Cranmer:* none can execrate his execution, or acknowledge his firmness in his last moments, more than I do. If his character had rested on his recantation, and the dreadful scene that followed, I should have pitied him, without thinking of his failings; but, when I see him described as a perfect character, and arguments deduced from it, to criminate the Roman Catholics, and to rouse the vulgar against us, I lose my patience, and can't help describing him, as he really was, a man of fair abilities, and well disposed, but possessing no strength of soul, and yielding, against his own inclination, to lamentable excesses.

Some of Dr. Parr's friends having told me, that he had prepared with particular care some Sermons for the press, I mentioned this to him, and urged the publication of them. He assured me, it was his intention to publish them in the following winter.

The difference between the style of *Addison* and *Johnson* being mentioned to him, he declared in favour of the latter. On my ex-

pressing to him that, if I could acquire a style by wishing for it, it would be *Swift*'s, he observed, that supposing style to be confined only to words and phrases, *Swift's style* could aspire to no higher praise than extreme perspicuity. He observed that, if *Swift's Tract on the Dissensions at Athens and Rome*, were now published for the first time, it would have no sale. His "Conduct of the Allies" was, he thought, better: still it would bear no comparison with *Burke's Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents*. He said, description was Swift's excellence; but that he was only supremely great, when he made a person describe himself: that there, he had no rival.

Some circumstances had led him to peruse a considerable portion of the works of *Sir Matthew Hale*; he seemed highly delighted with them; and often mentioned them in high terms of commendation. "Sir Matthew," I have more than once heard him say, "was all mind and "learning."

You know how devoted he was to *Mr. Fox* and his memory. He appeared to me to be very unjust to the merit of *Mr. Pitt* as an orator. It is lawful to prefer the former to the latter, but it is not lawful to consider the latter as a mean orator.

He admired *Bishop Lowth*'s celebrated epitaph upon his daughter, except the strange cacophony of the verse, "*Quando iterum tecum* "*sim modo dignus, ero.*" He observed, that a slight alteration, "*Tecum quando iterum,*" would have removed it. On the merits of the epitaph I quite differ from Dr. Parr: I think it flat, and that Christian feeling is not discernible in it. The feeling of a Christian when he meets his daughter in Heaven, is to congratulate her upon her happiness, and to thank the Almighty for it.

He spoke of the talents of Mr. *Joseph Gerrald*, the celebrated Radical, with great admiration: I mention this, because I have heard a very good judge of men and talents do the same.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

C. Butler.

Lincoln's-Inn,
5th May 1826.

LETTER XV.

Mr. Butler to E. H. Barker, Esq.

Dear Sir,

My letter to Dr. Parr, (20 June, 1822), was the last in our correspondence. The Doctor did not answer it; but when he came to London, conversed much with me on the subjects, to which I ventured in it, to call his attention. He declared himself a warm admirer of the Odes of Horace,—quite as great an admirer of them, as in his youth; but observed, that "in a cer- "tain time of life, odes are not a favourite "reading."—After a pause, he said, that "there "were several portions of the classics, the merit "of which could be appreciated by those only, "who were so well acquainted with the lan- "guage, in which they were written, as to "apprehend and feel the *curious felicity* of "their diction." "Such," he said, "are "Horace's Odes. In Valerius Flaccus, Jason "stimulates the young prince Acastus, to join

" in the expedition to Colchos, in the follow-
" ing verses,

" O Quantium cœli, quantum cognoscere terræ,
" Permissum! pelagus quantos Apeninus usus;

" Here the sentiment is so grand, so congenial
" to the human heart, and so spirit-stirring,
" that no selection or combination of words,
" particularly beautiful, was wanted to give it
" effect. But, when Horace had to describe
" the charms of Glycera,—words less beauti-
" ful, than

" *Urit me Glyceræ nitor,*
" *Splendentis Pario marmore purius;*
" *Urit grata protervitas,*
" *Et Vultus nimium lubricus aspici,—*

" would not have excited the sentiment of
" pleasure or admiration, which the bard wished
" to inspire. But," continued Dr. Parr, " there
" is an excellence beyond this. It is, where,
" in a sentence of some length, *every* word
" is so proper, and so happily set in its
" proper place, that none attracts particular
" admiration; but we are unspeakably de-
" lighted by the whole. Such is the opening

of the Ode addressed by Horace to Virgil *navigaturum*

" *Sic te Diva potens Cypri,*
" *Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida Sidera,*
" *Ventorumque regat Pater,*
" *Obstrictis aliis præter Japyga :—*
" *Navis, quæ tibi creditum*
" *Debes Virgilium,—finibus Atticis*
" *Reddas incolumem precor,*
" *Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.*"

" What person of taste does not read each
" line of this passage, with sensible pleasure,
" and the close, with an admiring acknowledg-
" ment of excellence? Yet, neither an am-
" bitious phrase, nor even an ambitious word
" occurs in it."

I ventured to suggest *Swift's Imitation of Horace,—*

" *Harley, the nation's great support,*
" *Returning home one day from court,*
" *Observed a parson near Whitehall,*
" *Cheapening old authors at a stall,*"—

as a happy exemplification of the inconceivable charm of proper words in proper places. " Ex-
" cellent," said Dr. Parr, " it certainly is. We
" have nothing, of the same kind in the English
" language, that equals it. But, you must own,
" there is some difference between Glycera, and

" an old minister and his parson;—between the
" twin stars beaming on the sea, and a book-
" stall. The subject of Swift's muse was not
" low; but it was homely; and thus precluded
" every idea, every feeling of beauty."

I once mentioned to Dr. Parr, a distinguished scholar, who professed to think that the orator appeared too much in the Philosophical works of Cicero, except the *Offices*; this, he considered one of the most perfect models of writing, which have come to us from antiquity. He also professed to discover the man of high breeding and elegant society in the *Commentaries of Cæsar*, and expressions in the writings of Cicero, which shewed a person accustomed to address a mob,—the *fæx populi Romani*. Dr. Parr said, these were fine observations, and appeared to acquiesce in them.

I ventured to call the Doctor's attention to my observation in the Reminiscences, in which I inferred that the people of Rome were, speaking generally, a rude and uncultivated race, from Cicero's having found such a laboured period, as the " *Est enim hæc non scripta sed nata*
" *lex*," necessary, to convince them that homicide in self-defence, is justifiable.—" You are
" mistaken," said the Doctor. " If Cicero had
" attempted to prove the position, gravely and

"systematically, there would have been ground
" for your observation. But his sentence was
" a *Dalilah*. He intended by it to captivate
" the audience; to win them over to him
" and his cause. The passage from admiring
" an orator, to thinking well of his cause, is
" very easy. Such artifices are common in
" Cicero, I can shew many in his Orations.
" By the tirade in question, he did not seek to
" prove; he sought to charm."

The last time that Dr. Parr was in town, he communicated to me the evidence and arguments by which he supported his hypothesis, that Mr. Lloyd was the author of the letters signed Junius. They appeared to me very inconclusive. A literary gentleman of the highest eminence, to whom also he communicated them, thought the same. I have quite forgotten them.

I have sometimes compared the Apophthegms of Dr. Parr and Dr. Johnson. In those of our friend, great brilliancy of expression, great splendour of illustration, and, when he pleased, singular severity, were displayed. But, had they the profound sense, the searching interrogatory the knock-me-down blow of Johnson's? The effect of Johnson's was often momentary; and reflection soon supplied detection and reply; but, in the mean time, the adversary bit the ground.

How many words would it have taken Dr. Robertson or Mr. Gibbon, to express in their polished phrases,—the short line of Dr. Johnson:

"An hour may be tedious, but can't be long."

You have now all my *Parriana*.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Your most obliged
and most humble Servant,
CHARLES BUTLER.

Lincoln's-Inn,
5 September, 1826.

P. S.—In one of the first pages of the former volume of the Reminiscences, I observed, that it "was a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that "none of my writings contained a single line "of personal hostility or disrespect to any one." I have since been a Polemic,—but I am confident, that none of my adversaries can justly charge me with having addressed a line of the kind to him.

A Lady,—admired by all who know her,—printed, soon after the decease of Doctor Parr, an elegant "*Sketch of his Character.*" In the beginning of it she thus expresses herself:—

"Of his scholastic attainments it becomes

" few to speak, since few can be found capable
" of appreciating their excellence, or of esti-
" mating their extent: but it may be permitted
" to the most incompetent of writers to remark,
" that it has long been the current persuasion
" among those best qualified to form an opi-
" nion upon the subject, that in rare and ele-
" gant classical knowledge, he was unsurpassed
" in the learned world.

" 'It was the notion only of those who did
" not know Dr. Parr,' says an able and im-
" partial critic, 'that his learning was con-
" fined to the structure of sentences—the
" etymology of words—the import of particles
" and the quantity of syllables. His attain-
" ments were in truth as remarkable for their
" variety as their depth.' He was profoundly
" read in history, morals, legislation, and di-
" vinity: with all the minute and illustrative
" facts connected with the liturgies, forms, and
" doctrines of the church he was intimately
" and accurately acquainted; and of the old
" school of learning he might be considered
" one of the few surviving devotees.

" When it is remembered, that of these vast
" acquirements by far the greater part were
" made not in the ease of affluence and leisure
" of independence, but under the combined
" pressure of time and poverty, our respect

" for his great intellectual powers will, pro-
" bly, be transcended by our admiration of his
" superior moral worth. And, while we think
" on his enterprising spirit, and his enduring
" patience performing " all the tasks of hope"
" in a state that might justify murmurs of dis-
" content, if not expressions of despair, we may
" rationally be supposed to apply to him the
" encomium of Cowley, and say, that ' HIS
" GENIUS AND LEARNING WERE AMONG THE
" LEAST OF HIS MERITS.'"

The sketch is thus concluded:—

" From a long intercourse with the world
" he acquired no moroseness or suspicion: so
" artless indeed and susceptible was his nature,
" that it has been said he not unfrequently
" wrote and acted as if he had lived in the
" commonwealth of Plato. Preserving unim-
" paired to an extremely advanced age all the
" original vigour of his expansive mind, and the
" best affections of his generous heart, he died
" in the love and respect of all who knew him,
" ' with the calmness of a philosopher and the
" piety of a Christian.'

" What his funeral lacked
" In images and pomp,
" Was supplied with honourable sorrow.

" To no man, who is not endowed with
" very extraordinary faculties can the tran-

" scendant learning, critical skill, and luminous
" eloquence of Dr. Parr be fit objects of emu-
" lation; but it consists with the abilities, and
" it is to be hoped, with the inclinations of
" many, to imitate the less shining, but not
" less salutary qualities, by which he was so
" justly distinguished; the lofty independence
" of his principles, the eminent benignity of his
" temper, his perpetual attention to the most
" important duties of the pastoral office, and
" his constant amplification of the most endear-
" ing virtues of the Christian character.

" Such were his merits, and he was rewarded,
" not indeed with exalted preferments, but, to
" a mind liberal as his, with distinctions far
" more estimable; the unfeigned affection and
" cordial admiration of a vast number of the
" most illustrious and accomplished persons of
" the times in which he lived.

" From the failings of humanity he was
" undoubtedly not free; he had many eccen-
" tricities, and some weaknesses; but they may
" truly be said to have been lost in the radiance
" of his virtues; and, surely, whoever shall
" hereafter attain the deepest classical erudi-
" tion, and the most comprehensive practical
" excellence, need not think his learning or his
" piety undervalued, when laid in the balance
" with, and compared to, that of Dr. Parr."

XIII.

View of the Proposed Reform of the English Courts of Equity.

IN the preceding volume of the Reminiscences, a miscellaneous article is dedicated to the consideration of several important points in the jurisprudence of our own and some foreign countries. The interest, which the great question of the reform of our Courts of Equity now excites in the mind of the British public, induces the writer to resume the subject. But he intends to confine his observations,—I. To an exposition of the actual state of the question:—II. To the charge brought, in a recent publication of high authority, against conveyancers, solicitors and attornies, of being a great cause of the evils complained of in the administration of justice in the Courts of Equity:—III. And to the suggestions proposed by Mr. James Humphreys, in his "Observations on the Actual State of the English Law of Real Property; with a Code:"—IV. The writer will then state summarily the result of his own consideration of these subjects.

XIII.

Actual State of the Proceedings for the Reform of English Courts of Equity.

THE universal voice of the public, including whatever is most eminent and distinguished in the law itself, has for some time past, pronounced explicitly that a reform of our Courts of Equity is imperatively called for: the delays and expence attending suits in them being an enormous evil, and amounting in many cases, and in all, where the property is small, to a denial of justice.

Thus a reform is desirable: its practicability, therefore, calls for consideration. We have not heard this explicitly denied; but we have heard doubts of it hinted:—all must admit, that it would be found an arduous undertaking.

The Question must soon be brought to issue. In 1824, a commission was signed by His Majesty, the principal object of which was "to "inquire, whether any and what alterations "could be made in the practice, established "in the Court of Chancery, or in the several "offices of that Court; whereby the expences "attending such proceedings, and the time "during which they depend in court, may be "usefully and beneficially abridged." A Report

has recently been made under this commission, and a copy of it presented to the House of Commons, accompanied by a very voluminous Appendix, consisting of ample returns from the several officers of the court, of the nature and amount of the business transacted in their several departments, and of the examinations at great length, of several of the most eminent practitioners in the courts of Equity, either as barristers or solicitors; and also of the examinations of some of the Judges presiding in the equity courts. It has brought forward a mass of valuable information; and, although, if the commission had been formed on a more extensive plan, it might, *perhaps*, have done greater good, yet, such as it is, the public has reason to be thankful for it.

"It is somewhat surprising," says the writer of an article in the *Quarterly Review**, "that "with (we believe) one exception, this docu- "ment, so valuable from the nature of its con- "tents and so repeatedly and anxiously called "for, has as yet drawn forth no comment or "criticism of the slightest moment. The soli- "tary exception, however, is of itself equivalent "in importance to a host of minor notices:

* N° LXVIII;—for September 1826.

"for we cannot help believing the rumour to "be correct, which assigns a recent pamphlet, "entitled, '*Considerations suggested by the* "*Report made to his Majesty, under a Com-* "*mission*,' &c.—to a late Lord Chancellor of "Ireland, who was himself a member of that "commission; but who has withheld his sig- "nature from the report, for reasons which "appear sufficiently on the face of this pam- "phlet. His Lordship's profound knowledge, "both of the law and practice of courts of "equity is unquestionable, his opinions there- "fore upon the subjects embraced by the "report, or in any manner connected with it, "are entitled to the highest degree of respect "and attention." Here, the Reviewer certainly expresses the universal opinion, both of the English and the Irish bar. No judge ever bequeathed to his court a more valuable legacy, than the two volumes of his Lordship's decisions, published by *Messieurs Scholes and Lefroy*.

Thus, it appears that a committee composed of some of the most respectable persons in the equitable department of our jurisprudence have frequently met and deliberated; have examined a multitude of witnesses; have formed a report, and suggested in it a variety of regulations, tending to simplify the process of the

court, to lessen its expences, and abridge its delays. From this, many salutary results might have been expected; but a publication, attributed to a person of the very highest authority, issued from the press, soon after the report; it calls in question the propriety of most of the regulations suggested in it; and is generally considered to render all of them questionable. —The consequence is obvious: the delays and expence complained of are admitted: and at present, no plan for remedying them exists.

But notwithstanding the high authority of the work, which is supposed to lead to this conclusion, is it not lawful to hesitate, before we adopt it? It is true, that hasty innovation is always dangerous; but is not hasty rejection of innovations, proposed by the intelligent to remedy evils of great magnitude, and universally acknowledged to exist, liable to equal objection?

We are informed by the best authority, that the Lord Chancellor has taken the report into serious consideration, and intends to pursue the business to a conclusion. From such a determination, the country may expect the most beneficial results.

XIII. 2.

Charge against Conveyancers, Solicitors and Attornies, —that the Delays and Expences of Suits in Equity, are greatly owing to them.

THE work, to which we have alluded, seems to acquit the system, by which the pleadings in suits in equity, and the process in them are conducted, from the charge of occasioning unnecessary delay and expence. It seems to attribute them in a great measure to the conveyancers, solicitors and attornies. May not a member of the first of these lines of the profession, express, without blame, a respectful wish, that the ground upon which the charge was made, had been specified? Until this shall be done, a general denial is the only answer by which the charge can be met; and, by every received rule, when a charge is made and explicitly denied, the innocence of the accused must be presumed, till proof of his guilt is exhibited. This denial, the writer of these pages, who has practised in the former of these lines, and has had much intercourse with the members of the latter, during half a century, most respectfully, but most explicitly gives.

In regard to the former description of persons,—in whose reputation he is particularly interested,—he must be permitted to declare, tha after much consideration, he is quite at a loss to

discover a fact upon which the charge is founded. Is it that conveyancers too easily recommend suits in equity? This has not even been said: —Is it, that the deeds or wills prepared by them are purposely framed to produce forensic litigation? Neither has this been said:—Is it that their instruments are too often prepared so inaccurately, as to produce or increase litigation? Putting out of consideration the wills and deeds prepared by schoolmasters, stewards and others, with whose sins, conveyancers certainly are not chargeable, how very few instruments, prepared and approved by gentlemen of acknowledged weight and consideration, in this line of the profession, have by the decision of any court been found substantially culpable?

The noble and learned author hints at the *prolixity of conveyancers.* This, to a certain extent, the present writer acknowledges; but the acknowledgment should not be made without accompanying it with some observations.

His Lordship contrasts the shortness and simplicity of ancient instruments, with the prolixity and complication of modern. But is not this objection answered, by noticing the few and simple objects of the former, and the multitudinous and intricate objects of the latter? Formerly, settlements were confined to real estate;

now, personal estate is equally a subject of settlement. Formerly, the intentions of the parties were effected by limiting an estate tail to the parents, or one of them. At present, when a settlement of real property is executed, either by deed or will, neither parent takes a larger estate than for the term of his or her life: a rent-charge is generally limited to the wife; original and independent estates in tail are limited to the sons, successively. Failing these, the estate is often limited to the daughters and their issue; and often, to collaterals and their issue: portions are provided for younger children; powers of providing future jointures and future portions are given; and various powers of charging, leasing, enfranchising copyholds, making partitions, sales and exchanges, are inserted. The instruments also contain powers for the appointment of new trustees, on the death or resignation of any actual trustee, and various warranties of the title. The persons, to whom these powers are given, the circumstances in which they are to be exercised, and the precautions to prevent a fraudulent or improper exercise of them, require a multiplicity of limitations and provisions; and these must be expressed in a phraseology at once guarded and copious. It is often necessary to show, before the operative parts of

the deed can be intelligibly perused, the actual circumstances of the estate, its subsisting charges and modifications. Frequently, these are numerous; then laboured recitals of them become necessary. When conveyances of lands were made by an actual delivery of the possession of them before witnesses, who generally were residents in the neighbourhood, and tenants to the same lord as the vendor, a minute description of the lands was useless; but since delivery of possession has fallen into disuse, a minute description of them cannot be dispensed with. Surely, when these circumstances are duly considered, it must be evident that the difference in the bulk of ancient and modern deeds must be very great. If the latter be much longer, it is not that modern conveyancers are more prolix; but that modern conveyances effect much more, and that the objects of them imperatively require more numerous and complex provisions than were contemplated in ancient times.

Do modern acts of parliament, and the language of them,—which conveyancers often follow,—afford any ground for criminating the length of modern conveyances? Assuredly not. They have the same prolixity: the same verbose phraseology.—Are they framed with greater care? with more provident views of the sub-

ject? In framing them, the highest officers in the law, and the most eminent practitioners, both in the equity and the common law courts, concur: they have the assistance of persons, whose lives are dedicated to the forming of legislative acts: yet, our statute books are full of *explaining and amending acts*. *The Annuity Act* was framed and brought into parliament by Lord Chancellor Loughborough; its inaccuracy made it necessary to repeal it: the repealing statute has been explained and amended by three subsequent acts, and even yet stands in need of further parliamentary revision.

Surely, when these circumstances shall be considered, the reflections upon conveyancers in the work alluded to, may be thought to deserve the further consideration of its noble author: his unquestioned and unquestionable respectability makes every word which falls from him of the highest importance, both when he praises and when he blames.

Still—the writer of these pages admits that deeds and wills are too verbose; and that it is desirable that they should be shortened, as much as sound discretion admits. The writer has seen many settlements both by deed and testamentary disposition, of French and Scottish property. The length of neither bears any proportion to

that of English instruments. Yet both are vituperated for prolixity and tautology, by the natives of those countries. Upon this account, legal instruments of French construction have often been made a subject of ridicule on the French theatre. This seems to show that something of prolixity and tautology is inseparable from legal instruments. If the comparative proportions between the length of English deeds and wills, and those of France and Scotland, be objected, we must reply,—(as we did to the objection from the comparative shortness of the antient instruments of this country),—that, what French and Scottish instruments effect bears no proportion to what is effected by the legal instruments of England.

West's Symboleography, and the collection of precedents ascribed to *Sir Orlando Bridgman*, show, that the length of conveyances has been always on the increase: If we compare them—first, with the instruments in the *Formulare* of Madox, and afterwards with those in modern use, we shall find the increase of length, between the time of Madox and that of Sir Orlando Bridgman, was not less than that between the time of Sir Orlando and our own.

By an act of the 7th and 8th of William III, the English bar was inhibited to Roman Catho-

lics. It was not opened to them till the act passed for the relief of the Catholics in 1791. During this period, they practised as chamber counsel in the conveyancing line, and many attained great eminence. The first who came into public notice was Mr. *Nathaniel Pigot:* he had been called to the bar previously to the disabling act of William III; but, after the passing of that act, thought it prudent to sacrifice to the temper of the times: he therefore abstained from forensic advocation, and confined himself to chamber practice in the conveyancing branch of the law. He was a most profound lawyer; the deeds prepared by him show consummate skill, and were very concise. He was succeeded by Mr. *James Booth*, the patriarch of the modern school of conveyancing. His knowledge of the English law of real property was at least equal to that of Mr. Pigot; he had perhaps a clearer and more extensive view of the machinery of which conveyances under the statute of uses,—the *Magna Charta* of conveyancers,—are susceptible. But he was eminently prolix: this appeared even in his ordinary discourse and written missives. It was natural that he should carry it into his juridical compositions. Few legal opinions have been more sought for, or

more highly prized; but their prolixity, though generally instructive, sometimes excites impatience. It is still more discoverable in the deeds and wills which he prepared.

In these, learning and skill are to be found in every line; but verbosity entered into all. Those, who are familiar with his legal instruments admire the skill and clearness which they exhibit; but are often tired by their never-ending multiplication of words. With these merits and defects, Mr. Booth continued at the head of his profession during a quarter of a century; and through the whole of that period gave the law: almost all legal assurances were formed on the model of those prepared by him, and therefore partook of their cumbrous verbosity.

But this was not the only mischief. Mr. Booth's eminence made the principal families of the nation resort to him; thus, his deeds were generally calculated for estates or property of the largest size; or for circumstances of the greatest magnitude and importance. The additional expence occasioned by the great length of them was no object to the persons for whom they were prepared, and the most extensive and complicated entails were generally in their contemplation and desire. These modifications of

property, in cases where it is comparatively small, are preposterous. In such cases, however, they were generally inserted; this necessarily occasioned an expense which the owners of the property could ill afford to bear.

A settlement of an estate in the *Shelley* family, prepared in 1791, after a previous comparison of seven of the best of those prepared by Mr. Booth, and settled after a minute attention to every word of it by the late Mr. Fearne, may be considered as an exact specimen of a complete settlement formed on the plan and language of Mr. Booth. It has been so often copied as to render this reference to it not improper.

It should also be stated, that settlements prepared on Mr. Booth's prolix plan were frequently laid before gentlemen at the equity bar, eminent for their knowledge of the law of real property, and approved by them. Many such drafts, with their approbations of them, have been seen by the present writer: he has never met with a single instance in which an objection to them for their prolixity has been intimated.

It should also be remarked, that the experience of years had shown that the drafts prepared by Mr. Booth embraced, in their general

operation, every combination of circumstances, which reasonably, and without carrying calculation too far, require provision; and that these were accurately described, and adequately provided for. The form of them might be simplified; the language, in which they were expressed, might be shortened, and expence thus saved. But, placing on one side the amount of the expence so saved, and on the other the risk always attending attempts at improvement, was it clear that the expence saved was equal to the risk that attended the abbreviation? An intelligent and prudent person would answer this question in the negative; he would have thought it wise to adhere to Mr. Booth's form and language, notwithstanding their acknowledged unnecessary prolixity.

It should also be observed, that, at the time of which we are now treating, the excellent works of Mr. Fearne, Mr. Sugden, Mr. Preston, and Mr. Saunders, had not been published; so that the knowledge of the law of property was, comparatively to its present diffusion, confined to few. Small, therefore, was, at this time, the number of those, who could be safely trusted, or who could decorously trust themselves with the perilous attempt at improvement; or in whom

it would have been wise or decent to prefer experiment to the certain safety of precedent.

It should be added, that persons in full business have no time to weigh words and syllables; that, to do it requires more time than either the wishes of the parties themselves, or the established movement of business allows; that, in most instances, the parties themselves would think it was too dearly purchased by the delay, which it must have made necessary; and that in many, it would occasion a vexatious or ruinous procrastination. Surely, therefore, it was lawful to conveyancers—it was even their duty, *stare decisis*—to adhere to established forms.

Still, the too great length of legal instruments was observed by the practitioners themselves. The increase of stamp duties made it more sensibly felt. Hence, a general desire of shorter instruments was distinctly expressed by all who were conversant with the subject; but, being aware of the difficulties and dangers attending the wished for reform, each was fearful of making the experiment on his single authority. In the year 1811, a conveyancer, whose juridical studies and practice had then greatly exceeded the *viginti annorum lubricationes* mentioned by Sir John Fortescue, was advised on

a settlement to be executed on the intended marriage of Mr. Mellish with Miss Lee. It was to be prepared by him, on the part of the lady, and settled, on the part of the intended husband, by the late Mr. Shadwell,—a gentleman, whose name is never mentioned without the greatest respect. The lady's counsel intimated to Mr. Shadwell his wish, that it should be framed in the *most* concise manner, consistent with a due compliance with established forms and language; and that Mr. Shadwell should concur in the preparation of it on this plan, and settle it accordingly, so that it might become an authentic precedent for themselves and their schools. This was done; the settlement was prepared on this plan: it was submitted to Mr. Shadwell; many discussions of it with him took place, and it was finally approved by him. The writer thinks he may safely assert, that it was shorter than Mr. *Booth*'s form for a similar settlement by one-third, but not more. It has been often copied; and, with many, has become a received precedent. Greater conciseness has since been adopted by some most respectable practitioners: these have the writer's warmest approbation; but he conceives it impossible, *while the law of title remains in its present state*, to proceed much further, without abandoning

established forms and language so much, as to render the innovation a matter of experiment. Now experiments are always dangerous; and never so dangerous, as when legal instruments are the subjects of them.

But,—admitting the length of conveyances, settlements and wills, to be as great and reprehensible as it is alleged to be, can it be justly said that it causes a great proportion of the expence and delay complained of in Chancery proceedings? In these, no legal instrument is required to be copied, or to be stated *verbatim:* The limitation, the power, the trust, or the covenant, which is the subject of the suit, must sometimes be so inserted; but the remainder of the instrument may be either wholly omitted, or very shortly set forth.

The writer cannot leave the subject without an appeal to the whole profession,—without asking every member of it,—whether the practitioners in any line of the law are considered by the general body to possess more knowledge of their branch of it than the conveyancers? to be more regularly found at their posts? more attentive to the business intrusted to them? to give it greater dispatch? to be better prepared for consultations? to exhibit, at them, greater learning or candour, or a better spirit of accom-

modation? to come to more explicit or practical results? to write more satisfactory opinions? or to have contributed more by their publications to settle the principles, diffuse the knowledge, or facilitate the learning of the law?

In the sentences, which contain the censure on conveyancers, to which we have referred, solicitors and attornies are equally included. The writer hopes and recommends, that some member of that respectable body will undertake its defence. He must, however, observe, that charges thus generally made, can be impugned only by general denial. With the particulars of their practice, he is unacquainted. If the length of pleadings be urged, he refers to what he has already said upon the length of conveyances. If their use of sham or dilatory pleas be criminated, why do counsel sign, or courts allow, or the legislature yet sanction them?

Upon minute inquiry, it would probably be found, that the criminations alluded to have no other foundation than the prejudice entertained against the criminated body, upon two accounts:—1st, That among them, some disreputable men are to be found. But is not an equal proportion of such men to be found in every other branch of the community?

None acknowledge or lament the existence of such men among them, or reprobate them and their conduct, more than the other members,—and these form an immense majority—of the body.—2dly, The amount of their bills of costs. These often are enormous, and bear no proportion to the labour which they are to remunerate, or to the benefits derived by the parties from them.

But,—from what does this enormity proceed? Does it proceed from the amount of the money which the solicitor or attorney actually receives from the total charge, for his own benefit? By no means: a great,—a very great—deduction, from the total of his bill of costs must be made for the money paid by him for fees to counsel, for fees of office, for law taxes, for the attendance of witnesses, for journies, for office copies, and other payments actually made by them in the course of the proceedings. Those, who have not attended to the subject, have no idea how great a proportion of an attorney's or solicitor's bill of costs is formed of these items.*

* Some estimate of the proportion may be made by inspection of the bills of costs annexed, by way of specimen, to the Report of the Chancery Commissioners, (Appendix, D.); in which the several items are set down under distinct heads, so as to afford a tolerably correct idea of the actual amount of profit to the solicitors.

To them must be added, the loss of the interest accruing on the money advanced by them. Few solicitors have had a practice of as great extent, or of as long duration, as the late Mr. Joshua Sharpe. Being a single man, wealthy, and of small expence, he was not very anxious for the payment of the money owing to him on his bills of costs. After his death, a professional gentleman, whose statement may, the writer thinks, be depended upon, declared, that if he had made no bill, but regularly received interest at five per cent upon his advances, he would have been a much wealthier man. Much observation has convinced the writer of these pages of two facts,—that the professional gains of solicitors and attornies, are by no means so great as the public thinks them; or even so great as they are thought by themselves, if they do not keep very regular accounts.—But he must leave the subject to persons more capable of doing it justice.*

* In a former page, the writer has noticed the shortness of Scottish instruments, compared with the length of English, and accounted for the greater brevity of the former, by their effecting much less than the latter. He should have added, that, so far as they effect the same objects, English instruments are more concise and methodical.

XIII. 3.

Mr. Humphreys's "Observations on the Actual State "of the English Law of Real Property."

We hope that the preceding defence of conveyancers, solicitors and attornies, will be thought by none to exceed the *moderamen justæ tutelæ*, the moderation of a just defence; We proceed to a more important subject.

In the Report of the commissioners, we find this sentence:—"No person can have had "much experience in courts of equity, without "feeling that many suits owe their origin to, "and many others are greatly protracted by, "questions arising *from the niceties and subtle-* "*ties of the law and practice of conveyancing.* "Any alteration in this system must be made "with the greatest caution, but as connected "with the object of saving time and expence "to suitors in the court of Chancery, we ven- "ture to submit to your Majesty's consider- "ation, whether it might not be proper to com- "mit to competent persons the task of exa- "mining this part of our law, with a view to "determining, *if any improvement can safely* "*be made in it, which might lessen the expence*

" *and narrow the field of litigation respecting*
" *the transfer of property.*"

This certainly is an inquiry of the highest importance; but it admits of a direct, brief and satisfactory answer. SIMPLIFY, says the conveyancer, THE LAW OF TITLE TO PROPERTY, —*its niceties and subtleties will vanish*, and the *field of litigation* respecting the transfer of it, will be prodigiously narrowed. Produce to a conveyancer of knowledge and experience a title to be investigated, or a conveyance to be prepared of the greatest length and intricacy, he will investigate the former, and prepare the latter, in a very short time, and with little difficulty, if the facts upon which the title depends, are ascertained, and the law respecting them clear. But, as the law of title now stands, the ascertainment of the facts on which the title rests, is almost always operose, difficult and expensive, and the law respecting some of them is almost always uncertain in some important particular. So great are this difficulty and uncertainty, that it frequently happens, that the conveyancer, although he be convinced of the substantial safety of the title, cannot venture to approve it professionally; but, with a guarded intimation of the inclination of his own

opinion upon it, leaves the acceptance of it to the discretion of the parties themselves. The births, marriages, and ages of the persons, through whom the estate has devolved, must be proved or assumed. Even the negative circumstances of their having no other issue than those stated in the abstract, and the intestacies of the persons who are said to have died intestate, must be either shown or admitted. Unsettled points of the law, respecting the statute of frauds, respecting actual or constructive notice, respecting the vesting of portions and legacies, respecting the rights of husbands to alien their wives property, respecting the application of purchase money, respecting known, probable, and possible acts of bankruptcy, incessantly arise in the transfer of property. Limitations upon the construction and effect of which the ablest lawyers and conveyancers must differ, frequently occur. Crown debts, statutes-merchant, statutes staple, recognizances, and judgments must be searched for, or the search for them waived;—(and lamentable it is to say, that, in some cases no search for them can be relied upon):—Conveyances of estates and interests, really outstanding, must be obtained—(but, lamentable also it is to say, that, in the ac-

tual state of the law, no professional man, can even in some cases of frequent occurrence, opine, what estates or interests really are of this description, or should be supposed to be extinct.) —Add to this, the innumerable embarrassments arising from infancy, coverture, and foreign residence, and the questions arising on the stamp laws. These are the real causes of the *expenses, niceties and subtleties,* of the large *field of litigation,* mentioned by the commissioners. Is it not therefore most evident, that these originate in the law, not in the conveyancers? and, that it is not "*the practice of the conveyancers,*" as it is termed in the report, but THE LAW,—THE LAW ITSELF,—that occasions "this delay and expence,"—that makes the field "of litigation" which the commissioners complain of, so very large.

Their report gave rise to the work mentioned in the title of the present article. "Scarcely "had the intimations," says the article in *the Quarterly Review,* of which we have already availed ourselves, "been given, when they were "answered by a work of singular novelty, both "in its exhibition of the system itself, so far "as regards the subject of *real property,* and "in suggestions for its amelioration. Em- "bracing, as does the work alluded to, the entire "subject, which it professes to discuss, its

" copiousness, and at the same time, severe
" compression, alike forbid the supposition of
" its being the production of the moment; and
" we are forced to conclude, that, by a fortu-
" nate coincidence, Mr. Humphreys, the author
" of the work,—well known for his professional
" skill and experience,—was already prepared
" for the enterprise in which the sudden demand
" of the occasion induced him perhaps more
" immediately to embark."

The writer of the article then proceeds to analyze the work. He does it at some length, and gives it ample praise. It certainly is entitled to it; and to the serious consideration of all, who interest themselves in the present attempt to improve the jurisprudence of this country. The natural endowments of its writer, his unremitted application to the study of his profession, his able and meritorious discharge of its duties, and his literary attainments, particularly on subjects connected with the law of his country and general jurisprudence, have long been witnessed and admired by the present writer. He knows that, when Mr. Humphreys sate down to the composition of his work, he had not, as is the case of many writers, to learn what he should write, but to write what he had long known, and long revolved in his mind.

The writer has also to mention, — and he does it with great pleasure,—that his friend, Mr. Preston, of Lincoln's Inn, is engaged at this time, in framing an Act for simplifying the law of real property, and lessening the expenses and delays of suits respecting it. To such a work, no one can bring greater knowledge, skill, or experience.

Works written by such authors, may fail of convincing, but should not be slightingly overlooked.

It remains to mention, that *Mr. Sugden* has published Observations on Mr. Humphreys's work; that *Mr. Humphreys* has replied to them; and that both publications deserve a serious perusal.

XIII. 4.

The Result.

" *Ed io anche son pittore;*"—said the modest *Corregio,* while he surveyed a painting by *Michael-Angelo.*

" I too," says the writer of these pages, " have my thoughts upon these great subjects."

May he not express them unblamed?

He suspects,—that, while the law of England remains in its present state, *conveyances* must continue nearly as long, as concise practitioners

now frame them; and that all the actual embarrassments of title must subsist.

Is it wished to get rid of this length and embarrassment altogether?—The law of England must be altered; and *Mr. Humphreys's* Work should then be consulted.

On the delays and expenses attending *suits in equity*, it is more ventorous for him to speak.

He has read, with the greatest attention, the Report of the Commissioners, and many of the Examinations.—He conjectures that, by a large and provident adoption of the suggestions in the report, much delay and expense will be saved,—but that, after these are removed, much of both will remain.

Is it wished to make an *ultra* reduction of them?—The plan suggested by the writer's friend, Mr. John Forster,—than whom the whole profession does not contain a more honourable man, or a more intelligent practitioner,—or something very similar to it,—must in that case,—the present writer suspects,—be carried into execution.

FINIS.

Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

SINCE the whole of this work was printed, Dr. Johnstone of Birmingham, has informed the writer, by letter, that the first sentence in his letter to Mr. Barker (p. 249), is erroneous, "that gentleman "having been employed to collect Dr. Parr's corre- "spondence for the use of the person employed to "write Dr. Parr's life;—and that Dr. Johnstone is "the person engaged to write this Biography, being "also one of his executors."

Mr. Barker, soon after the receipt of Mr. Butler's letter, informed him of this circumstance.

ERRATA.

Page 22, fifth line from the bottom, *for* antique, *read* antiquâ.
27, fourteenth line from the top, *for* Petariuses, *read* Petavinses.
44, first line, *for* accounts, *read* account.
48, ninth line, *for* Prelation, *read* Relation.
51, fourth line, *for* part, *read* port.
67, sixth line from the bottom, *for* amiable *read* aimable.
92, fourth line from the bottom, *for* Jacobinism, *read* Jacobitism.
95, sixth line from the top, *after* assemble, *read* for effective deliberation.
111, twenty-second line, *for* 1775, *read* 1766.
113, fourth line, *for* cause, *read* causes.
fifth line, *for* dissensions, *read* discontents.
ib. three lines from the bottom of the text, *for* porsent *read* portent.
119, first line of the note, *for* on, *read* in.
158, sixth line, *for* Foligna, *read* Foligni.
162, sixth line, *for* Valert, *read* Valart.
165, seventh line, *for* mutual, *read* mutuel.
175, fifth line from the bottom, *for* les, *read* celles.
210, eleventh line from the top, *for* Daubez, *read* Daubuz.
231, second line from the bottom, *for* Boyle, *read* Bayle.
235, first line, *for* grovelling, *read* gravelling.
250, third line from the bottom, *for* Santueil, *read* Santeuil.
255, third line from the top, *for* Quantium, *read* Quantum.
fourth line, *for* Apeninus usus, *read* Aperimus in usus.
261, first line, *for* pro-bly, *read* probably.
eighth line, *for* supposed, *read* disposed.
262, eleventh line, *for* amplification, *read* exemplification.

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